

Correspondence between Eleanor Roosevelt and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy concerning a case of executive clemency.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
345 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 9, 1961



Dear Mr. Attorney General:

I know nothing about the case stated in the attached letter but on reading the appeal sent to the President the question seems to me to require an answer on a purely humanitarian basis. A blind man needing medical care should be released from prison as he has already served one sentence and is eligible for parole, but I know so little about this, I would not like to answer the letter until I can ask you to look into the case. The answer should not be too long in coming from a medical point of view.

I would like to compliment you on your speech in Georgia. It must have taken much courage and I think received real appreciation.

With all best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Honorable Robert Kennedy
The Attorney General
Washington 25, D.C.

*See
... Check this out -
I'll include in answer
2nd let. to get it out Monday -
B*

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
New York, New York

Provi. Committee for the Freedom
of Henry Winston
Bella Altshuler, Secretary
2731 Barker Ave.
Brook 67, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Once more we turn to you on behalf of Mr. Henry Winston,
blinded Negro Smith Act prisoner. For involved here
is not only the cruel injustice and inhumanity in
this case.

We feel that you, Mrs. Roosevelt, as a great public
servant, vitally interested in humanity, democracy
and the good name of our country, would perform
a great deed by interceding with President Kennedy
for Executive Clemency for Henry Winston.

We are confident that your words and deeds of
service to our country carry much weight with the
President.

We would greatly appreciate your help before
it is too late.

Very sincerely yours

Joseph Pollchett
Chairman.

P.S. Enclosed please find
our recent appeals to
the President.

FROM:
Bronx Committee for the Freedom of Henry Winston
2731 Barker Avenue
Bronx 67, N.Y.

April 26, 1961
FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

Below is copy of an Open Letter sent today (WED) to President John F. Kennedy by the Bronx Committee for the Freedom of Henry Winston urging executive clemency for Mr. Winston. A similar appeal was made on January 30, 1961.

Dear Mr. President:

Once again we urgently appeal to you for executive clemency for our neighbor, blinded Negro Smith Act prisoner Henry Winston, now at Danbury, Conn. Federal Prison.

Our last appeal for Henry Winston of some weeks ago brought forth the response from the Pardon Attorney Mr. Reed Cozart, that President Kennedy will look into this case and let us know of his decision. No such answer from you, Mr. President, has reached us so far.

Mr. Winston is totally, irrevocably blind and totally incapacitated due to the neglect of the prison authorities who for many months paid no heed to the danger symptoms of his grave illness - until it was too late to save any part of his vision.

And now, as recently as April 11th, he had to be taken from Danbury to Staten Island Public Health Hospital for examination by neuro-surgeons of new symptoms which could be more serious in his condition - pain in his blinded eyes.

Is it not obvious for all to see (and this is the opinion of the government doctors) that not prison conditions, not prison care, but all human help of family, normal surroundings together with the aid of the best medical science, given in freedom and in time could still bring some degree of relief, some rehabilitation and adjustment to a life of blindness and perhaps a ray of light in the life of this kindly - still young man - Henry Winston.

The Supreme Court ruled in similar Smith Act cases (the California case) that there is no crime in a man's ideas. Why then is Mr. Winston, after having completed serving his full Smith Act sentence, now compelled to serve the unprecedented three-year sentence for contempt?

Why the repeated denial of parole usually accorded other prisoners? Why the denial of medical parole granted other prisoners in cases of serious illness?

Mr. Winston, an honored World War II veteran, was ready to give his life for his country in the war against Hitler. Why then is he held in prison for no act of crime at all? Traitor Axis Sally who called on the American Army to lay down its arms and surrender to Hitler is released from prison by the Board of Parole. Why?

Dear Mr. President. We feel the time has come for you to intervene in this cruelly unjust case of Mr. Winston and to grant him immediate executive clemency.

People of decency and humanity urgently appeal to you to save our country from the shame of such injustice by returning Mr. Winston to his loving wife and his two fine children.

Your humane action of granting executive clemency to Mr. Winston would inspire greater good will to you, Mr. President, and to our country among people of good will the world over.

Sincerely yours,

/signed/ Joseph Pollicchetti,
Chairman.

May 15, 1961

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

This will acknowledge your letter of May ninth regarding the case of Mr. Henry Winston.

He is undergoing physical examinations at this time. I will advise you of the determination as soon as possible.

Thank you for your kind words on my talk.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Kennedy

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

RFK/jss

July 5, 1961

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

With further reference to your letter of May ninth regarding Henry Winston about whom Mr. Joseph Pollichetti of 2731 Barker Avenue, Bronx, New York, had written to you, this will advise you that the President, on June 30th, signed a commutation of sentence to expire at once.

Trusting this information will be helpful to you and with kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Robert F. Kennedy

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

RFK/s

Exchange of correspondence between Eleanor Roosevelt and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy concerning the appointment of federal judges in the south.

MAY 22 1962

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
53 East 74th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for sending me the letter from Carl Rachlin about the appointments to some of the district courts in Mississippi and Louisiana.

We have been extremely conscious of the responsibilities our federal judges have in the South in racial matters and make every effort to make sure that the new judges that we have appointed recognize their responsibility and are willing to do their duty. I must say that we have had some disappointments on occasion, as I have had in a lot of areas. We are fortunate in having an exceptionally fine and responsible Court of Appeals in the Fifth Circuit, and I am quite sure that there will be no reason for disappointment about the two judges who have been appointed to that Court.

I think it is still too early for anyone to sit in judgment on the three judges whom Mr. Rachlin referred to by name. Judge Cox did issue a restraining order recently in a racial voting case, after having been criticized by the Court of Appeals for failing to issue one in another case. I still hope that all three of these judges, as well as the other district judges in the South, will do their duty.

I may add that our own experience has been much more difficult with some of the district judges who were appointed by previous administrations.

It was very nice to hear from you.

Sincerely,

ROBERT F. KENNEDY
Attorney General

May 8, 1962

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have your note and the enclosure about Armando Monnar Roman. I am asking the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to look further into this case and let you know of any action taken.

It was good of you to bring this to my attention.

Best,

Robert F. Kennedy

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
35 East 74th Street
New York 21, New York

nsb

From

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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MEMORANDUM

May 2, 1962

Burke:

Perhaps you would prepare answer --
Point out have been disappointed
on occasions, but this happens in
many areas and very fine Circuit
Court, etc. or whatever you think.

RFK



Burke

Perhaps you would prefer answer -
but not have been disappointed on
occasions, but this happens in many
areas & very fine event of the or
whenever you think
RKH

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
35 EAST 75TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY 21, N. Y.

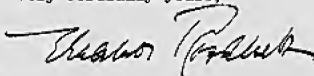
April 26, 1962

Dear Mr. Attorney-General:

I spoke to the President the other day about this memorandum which had been sent to me. I fully realize all the political difficulties. The President told me he felt Judge Ellis would be better than Gordon West or Harold Cox, but in view of the situation in Congress he felt there was not much that could be done. However, he thought it was all right for me to send this memorandum to you.

With my good wishes,

Very cordially yours,



VLADECK AND ELIAS
COUNSELLORS AT LAW
260 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

STEPHEN C. VLADECK
SYLVAN H. ELIAS
JUDITH P. VLADECK
CARL RACHLIN
WILBUR DANIELS
SHELDON ENOCHARD

WORTH 2-3103

April 16th, 1962

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
55 East 74th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

In accordance with your suggestion made to me at the CORE meeting in your house this morning, I am setting forth briefly some information concerning the new appointments to the Federal Court in the South.

(a) Harold Cox is the new Federal Judge in Jackson, Mississippi. He has been an intimate friend of Senator Eastland, I am advised, since his college days. His actions on the Bench have made things extremely difficult for both the Department of Justice, when it has appeared before him on civil rights matters, as well as for CORE.

(b) Gordon West is the new Federal Judge in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. I have been advised that he was a former law associate of the present Senator Long. In his case, for example, he has issued one of the broadest and, I believe, most unconstitutional injunctions I have seen in many a day.

(c) Judge Ellis in New Orleans, who commences his term about the beginning of May, taking the place of one of the great judges of our period, Hon. Skelly Wright who, as you know, is being promoted to the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia. My information from attorneys in New Orleans is that we should expect no more from Ellis than from either Gordon West or Harold Cox. This will be particularly disappointing in view of the fact that he is taking the place of Skelly Wright, an extraordinarily courageous man.

I trust this information will be of some interest to you. If there is any further way in which I can be of assistance to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Rachlin
CARL RACHLIN

CR:rk

Text of statement made by Eleanor Roosevelt on behalf of Senator John F. Kennedy during the 1960 Presidential Campaign.

Note remain and J.P. K.

Albin Krieger
35 E. 76 ST NY NY
HALL CARLYLE
TAPE 7
SIDE A

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH AT ST. LOUIS (ON JOSEPH P. KENNEDY), 11/1/60
First Speech

Presiding, _____:

[It is with] a sense of honor that I present to
you one of the best loved women in the world today, a
woman who has given so much of herself to her country
and to the world, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. [Applause]

Eleanor Roosevelt:

Guests, Ladies, and Gentlemen, it is a great
pleasure to be back in St. Louis. I seem to come
here, campaigning since the days I was in the White House.
And I'm always very happy to be here. As most of
you know, I wanted very much, before the Convention,
to have a ticket composed of Adlai Stevenson and
John F. Kennedy. Those at the Convention decided
otherwise. ^{And} ~~But~~ I have watched with great care our
candidate, our Democratic candidate, through the
past campaign, And I've come to have great faith
in him. [Interruption]

. . . and which I find the heads of these have
not mentioned very much, but which, of course, has

been mentioned in. ~~Now~~ I can't point exactly to the cover, but by many groups, some of whom with real hatred, this religious question, ~~see~~ And I thought that I would just like to say to you that I have been through Al Smith's Campaign. I do not think his religion ? defeated Al Smith.

I think that he was too much of a New Yorker. He knew only New York; he didn't know the rest of the country at all. But I think that I've seen a great difference in this campaign. There is less of the type of literature which I became very familiar with in that campaign. There is some of it. I suppose there will always be people who like to get out hate literature.

And there is, of course, ?. I guess you know last Sunday there was held what was to be, what was heralded as being, a real attack on having a Catholic for President. And therefore, I'd like to remind every audience I have an opportunity to remind that this country was actually settled by people who came to get away from persecution and to gain more freedom of religion. That was one of

the basic things on which our country was founded. And it was not to be freedom for one religion, ^{It} was to be freedom for all religions. And so, it seems to me that we should remember this. And we should remember that in our Constitution, the men who wrote that Constitution and were so near to the people ^{founded} who came here to found our country. ~~They~~ said that no one running for office should be questioned as to his race or his religion. And I saw a letter, written by George Washington, just a few days ago in New York--a very treasured letter, ~~and~~ ^{long} hand--in which he made the point, in writing to the ~~fact~~ ^{first Jewish} small, Jewish synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island ^{in 1790}, that we had written a Constitution that would prevent bigotry in this country for all time.

And I think we're apt to forget this. Now, ^{most} I also think that ~~those~~ of us who are afraid, are afraid of something which we really haven't thought through ^{very carefully}. We are afraid that we cannot preserve the separation between church and state. Now, ^{that} that is preserved, actually, by watching all church

organizations--and remember, I said all church organizations--and seeing that they do not try through law, either state or national, to gain special privileges. This has been something, that as far as I know, almost every church organization at some point has tried to do. The effort is made through a state or local or national law to get some particular privilege for your denomination, or your special religious organization. Now this, I think, you watch for, and if you think something really harmful is being done, you should have organizations that watch legislation. You should have people alerted ^{so} so that when they really think something which infringes on that separation of church and state is happening, they will try and prevent it. This is a perfectly legitimate thing. People differ quite often, but this is a difference that we can argue and settle among ourselves, by majorities. But to say to any American citizen, "You may go to war for us, you may die for us; we won't ask what race or religion you belong to. But if you aspire to a public office, we are going to ask you those questions." I think it's

beneath contempt, and I hope very much, ^{my} that we are going to settle that question once and for all, ^{on} November 8th. [Applause] I think. . . . ~~I~~ ^I hope ^{that} that no last-minute efforts will be successful.

Somebody in Illinois last week asked me if I thought if we were still apt to have any changes between now and election day. And I said, "Of course! I don't ever, being a pessimist, I don't ever count my votes until they are actually all in." And ^{I'm} perfectly willing to say ^{just lately} that wherever I've been, people have been very hopeful for the Democratic ticket. They've been enthusiastic. ^{They} They have said they've never had such good meetings; that wherever Senator Kennedy has been, ^{he's} he's had crowds of people, and the general feel is that victory is in the air.

Well, I don't believe in being complacent, ^{until} until the very last minute, and I said to some of these people, "You must watch . . . , because I happened to look in the New York Times today, and I ~~hep~~ ^{hep} that Mr. ~~Nixon~~ Nixon has announced that, if elected, he will go to the satellite countries of Eastern Europe and bring the message of freedom. Now that may well be

the beginning of promises. Of course, if you ~~are~~
think it over, you wonder just how he
will fulfil that promise. Because you do have to
be invited. [Laughter] And I doubt very much whether
the invitation will be forthcoming if he announces
beforehand that he's going to bring a message of
freedom. " [Laughter]

But there ~~is~~ ^{will} undoubtedly be a number of things
tried. I was ~~out~~ ^{on} at the west side of New York City
just yesterday afternoon, and they brought ^{me} a four-
page leaflet which was just being circulated. Now
this leaflet amused me very much because it was an
attack on Senator Kennedy's father. And if you read
it carefully, you realized that nothing in it was
actually a quotation from his father. It was all
something which had been said by the German ambassador
to Great Britain during the War. And the German
ambassador was quoted as having said that he had
seen the American ambassador, and he ^{Kennedy} was sympathetic
to all their difficulties in Germany, and he under-
stood their problems, particularly with the Jewish.

Well, this to me was very amusing because I

knew quite well that Senator Kennedy's father had been persuaded by Mr. Charles A. Lindbergh that it was impossible for us to build the ^{ports} ~~airports~~ to meet the German air force. Mr. Lindbergh was persuaded of this; he believed that we should make peace with Germany, and he persuaded the ambassador in London, Ambassador Kennedy, that we should make peace with Germany. And the ambassador talked about it considerably in London, much to their horror.

And my husband sent for him. The day he Kennedy came to Hyde Park, the first I knew that anything was going on ^{up} was that I was asked to come to my husband's study. And ^{when} ~~when~~ my husband was very much wrought up, he became extremely cold and icy. And he turned to me and he said, "You will please take the ambassador over to the cottage and give him lunch, and then you will see him to his train." And I thought, "Oh, goodness! What . . ." Laughter

I hadn't been [?] . I ~~admitted~~ ^{when} on the way to the cottage ^{when} ~~what~~ I knew ^{my} because the ambassador began to tell me the way he felt, and I knew quite well how Franklin had reacted to this, and how he

would have just scorned the idea that we were not able to do whatever was required of us. And, if you remember, a great many people said we couldn't build fifty thousand airplanes, and we did. And we really can do, as a people, whatever we have to do, when

we put our backs into it. And I couldn't help but be amused when I looked at this pamphlet and ~~saw that~~ ^{thought}

"this is all old stuff, why is it being raised up now?"

It had nothing to do with Senator Kennedy. ~~He was at that~~ ^{time} a ~~and~~ ^{what} little boy ~~was~~ is all this being brought up, ^{and} then I suddenly realized, "Oh! Why?"

it's circulating in the west side of New York, where they think it will reach people who will be affected by it, even now." And I couldn't help feeling that

this was the ^{kind} ~~cite~~ of low-down tactics that we've seen in many campaigns, ~~and~~ ^{we} we probably may see some more things like it. ^{But} But I don't think any more that the

American people are easily fooled by any of these things. You've had a chance to watch on television four meetings. ~~But~~ I wish they'd been real debates; I would have liked it much better. But nevertheless, it at least gave millions of people, who

would never have had a chance to see their candidate, to actually hear his views, and see the two candidates together, so that they could compare them in their presentations. And I think it was a milestone in television news ^{coverage} and also in processes of democracy, because it made possible for many people, who would have otherwise not have known what their candidates were like, ~~draw~~ ^{to} formed some idea of the men that they had running for the presidency in this country. ¶ Now, the next President of the United States is not going to have an easy time. We have problems of foreign relations; we have problems here at home. I don't know, for instance, whether here you have yet felt any of the results of automation, but this is coming. And automation has got to be met with planning; it's an extension of the growth of the machine, which we've watched over a long period of time, but to a ^{very} much greater extent. Now, unless we plan, unless industry, labor, and government come together on planning new industries, on arranging for retraining of workers, we could easily have in this industrial revolution some conditions resembling

the first Industrial Revolution in Great Britain.

Only ~~your~~ ^{our} consciences would not allow us to let people starve by the thousands, as they did when the machines first took the place of people ⁱⁿ in the mills ~~in~~.

~~set~~ Great Britain. Now, this is a case of forethought.

This is a case of seeing what is inevitably coming,

~~and~~ ^{it} preparing for it. ~~And~~ ^{it} ~~the~~ cooperation of the government, saying to industry and labor, "This is

your problem. You get together, and you decide what must be done on the financial and the industrial side. If you need the cooperation of government, government is ready to help ^{you} [^] And that is the only way, as far as I can see, that we can meet this problem of automation, and meet it so that our people do not suffer.

Now we can get a great deal that is good out of automation. Some day ^{my} masses of people will have the leisure which only the rich have had in the past.

But, in order to really make people better citizens, make it useful to them, we must have much change in our education, both for adults and for our young people, because in the past only the rich could really

enjoy the arts. ^{start} Now, everyone isn't going to become a great painter, or a great dancer, or a great musician, but they can learn appreciation. If you just use all this extra leisure time to watch television a few more hours a day, to go to more spectator sports, you won't be really any better citizens. One of the things it will give us time to be is really to be better citizens. And so, I have a feeling that again in this field, we need someone to lead with imagination, with a power to look forward, and to prepare, to know that we can become a better people, but we have to have the opportunity.

And I think these are areas in which there is much to be done, because with automation, men are going to find that, in their work, they watch a machine do what perhaps they did themselves. Now, it takes good men to watch the machine, but it's not the same thing as producing the product from beginning to end, and having the satisfaction of creation. All of us have that instinct of creation, ^{and} but I think that means that we must have a vastly ^{acute} different understanding of all the different ~~problems~~ ^{problems.}

We must give all of our people an opportunity to learn products, new skills, so that they may still satisfy the desire for a creative occupation, even though the way they earn their living requires just the watching of a machine.

Now, these are all things that we have to think about, we have to plan for, but we have to be led. And we have to be led by someone who has the ability to make us feel that we are needed. We never would have pulled ourselves out of our economic difficulties in the Depression, if the people hadn't regained confidence in themselves, and felt that they could do the things that were asked. And I think we are facing ^{times} both at home and abroad, which require this confidence all over again. And I hope very much that when you go to the polls on November the 8th, you will think of the value of youthful leadership, of leadership that has energy and force and drive. ^P I want to tell you a little incident. Some of the reporters were talking to me about the session which is now going on at the United Nations. Now, the beginning of that session was marked by having more

leaders, heads of nations, at the United Nations than had ever been there before. And Mr. [Nikita S.] Khrushchev was partly responsible for this, because the minute he announced he was coming and the satellite leaders were coming, all the others came. Now, he had never before sat in a parliamentary body where he had to listen to people who thought differently from the way he did. And this was very loathsome to him. He was very angry, and had come to the very notion of of destroying the United Nations, and, if possible, getting rid of the Secretary General, Mr. [Dag] Hammarskjold, whom he calls "tool of the imperialists." He behaved as boorishly and as rudely as he could possibly behave. And

And, never without really a clear knowledge of what he was doing, the best speech for the West that was made, when all the heads of the nations were here, was made by Prime Minister [Harold] Macmillan of Great Britain. And, as Mr. Khrushchev listened, he knew that this speech would make front-page news all over the country, and he determined that at least he would share part of that front-page news.

^{So}
~~But~~ he behaved worse through that speech than he had behaved at any time before. And he succeeded. He

^{got} at least half of the front-page news. [Laughter]

And so, I think, we have to remember what the reporters said. They said, to me, "Here is a man who was rude and boorish, and he didn't win what he came for, which was the African states, but he got across the idea that he had drive and force and conviction in his beliefs, that Communism was the future of the world." And they said, "Oh, if we had a spokesman in the West who could speak for Democracy with the same conviction, with the same drive and force." Well, that's what I hope we will have. ^{ff} And so I have a clear conscience in asking you all to go out and work between now and election day as hard as you possibly can, and let us win on November 8th, on the Democratic ticket, both locally and in the nation. [Applause]

Transcript of Press Conference held by Eleanor Roosevelt.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960
IN
E. R. PRESS CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON, D. C. no date

Q: Previous question not recorded on tape Would you assume that that was because, as some people have perhaps indicated, that because he was reserved?

A: I haven't the remotest idea

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, last summer at the Democratic Convention, you opposed the nomination of Senator Kennedy on the grounds that he would not attract the Negro voter. Would you care to evaluate for us now what strengths you might think he has with the Negro voter?

A: What I actually said was that some of the Negro leaders had been greatly offended by something Senator Kennedy had done. In fact, he had gone to a meeting with a Southern governor, and a good many of the Negro leaders couldn't understand it. They didn't realize that he thought, out of ignorance, probably, that he could have some influence on this Southern governor. I think he's learned better now,

And I think his record in Civil Rights, and particularly the effect of the conference he called in New York, back in the middle of the campaign, a few weeks ago, has had a tremendous influence on Negro leaders. Four hundred people came to that conference, from forty-two states. And they paid their own way. They were there for two days; they worked in panels, and took testimony from all over the country. And he came himself. And he only had a preliminary report. But he said that on the final report, which is now in his hands, ^{these} he would be the recommendations on which he would base the first steps of his policy. And I think they will be good recommendations. I've glanced through the report; I haven't really read the thing, but I think it's a good report

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, how do you feel about the type of campaign that Vice President Nixon has carried on?

A: It's exactly the type I expected [Laughter].

Q: Can you elaborate on that?

A: No, you can elaborate. You know as much as I know about it. [Laughter]

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, you're a long-time New Yorker, with

Hyde Park experience. How do you think the New York forty-five votes is going to go at this stage of the game?

A: Democratic. I come from a very Republican county, as you know. And for the first time we have had a really very active Congressional campaign

our Congressional district. And

a writer, a TV personality, and he became very wellknown through all of the district, as a speaker for all the organizations. And I think it was a great surprise when suddenly announced he was a candidate for Congress, because nobody knew he was a Democrat! But I think it was a very wise thing to have done, because at least he was known. And I've never seen anyone, and he's had a better organization, as far as Democrats go, than I have ever seen in our county. Now I can't speak for the others, which are equally Republican if not more so, than ours. But at least in our county, we have had a better Democratic organization than I have ever seen before. And I think that with luck, he might win.

Q: Pardon my ignorance, have you been to California; how long ago?

A: Oh, several weeks ago now.

Q: How did you view the California prediction?

A: Well, I was only in one part of California, southern California, Los Angeles, and around there. But I spoke to several large groups. Of course, you know you've had Adlai Stevenson there for a long while, and I think he did a great deal of good. And I think the vote will be a Democratic victory.

Q: Do you have any personal sense of loss that Mr. Stevenson, as hard as you promoted him before and during the campaign, that he is not the standard-bearer?

A: No. I was disappointed at the time, at the Convention, because I advocated very strongly that fact that I thought the best ticket, since I've known that most in foreign affairs difficult questions are going to come up very quickly, that the best ticket would be, Adlai Stevenson as President, and John Kennedy as Vice President. But I have watched very carefully, this campaign. And my respect for the candidate has grown. And I think

of late, that there is something very interesting that has happened. I think that the reason that everybody speaks of the fact that he seems to enjoy the campaigning, that he seems to get a great deal from the crowds that come out to meet him, is because he has created an identification with the people. Now this is really better evaluated if it's so, for the simple reason that we are going to need not just a leader, but are going to need a leader who can call on the greatness of the American people. And if he's able to do it, then we can look forward to great accomplishments, both in this country and in the world.

Q: Did you by chance happen to have an opportunity in your travels to head the President on television last night, or to see him?

A: I did not, unfortunately, because I had to go to
last night.

. But I

heard reports of his speech, and of
of course.

Q: What did the Democrats think of the equivalent turnout between Mr. Kennedy and Mr. . . .

A: It was very amusing when we had to read the Republican paper and the Democratic paper to get the different ideas. The Democrats thought that it was a tribute to Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower. The Republicans thought that Mr. Eisenhower did very well for his candidate. And some token as far as I was concerned was, that I felt it was really too bad for the poor little man, that he had to play second fiddle in one of the biggest of the meetings that had been held.

Q: There has been a great deal of talk, Mrs. Roosevelt, in the press, about the transference of the image from the President to the Vice President. In your long political experience, you think that this image can be transferred, if such exists at all?

A: I should question if it could.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, do you think there is a women's vote? , as a bloc/

A: Oh, because there are more women in this country than men! Now, it's important, but I don't know that you can say that all women vote alike. I've seen as much difference in women as I have in men, so that I don't think that you can say

Yes you are going to say that all women vote one way, they surely won't. It's just like in the old days, that labor leaders used to try to say, "All the labor will vote this way!" It never does! And so this is just nonsense, you see. They're people, and if you win the people, you win the people! Now, of course, you can peek to certain things which will appeal greatly. Now, for instance, President Eisenhower, in his promise to _____, which made the inference that he would stop the war, did appeal to the mothers who had sons in Korea. But short of a thing like that, you don't appeal to any particular group of anyone.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, recently, some columnists have been talking about a similarity between your husband, and Franklin D. President Roosevelt, and Senator Kennedy. Do you see any similarity between them?

A: Just recently, I've begun to see certain similarity apparently in the response of crowds. And I haven't myself witnessed it; I've only heard about it. So I don't really know. But it sounds very similar. Now I don't know what

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, in your long travels overseas, do you agree with a contention made that the United States has suffered a loss of prestige overseas? And if so, in what country?

A: Well, if you were to ask me that question a little differently, if you were to ask me if we had lost friends, I would say yes. We have lost friends. Prestige is hard to define. We are still a great country, and we are still a country that commands a certain amount of respect. And therefore, prestige is a difficult word to use. And if you said friends, I think that I would quite agree.

Q: Thank you.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, where are you speaking tonight?

A: I am speaking tonight, first of all, out in Maryland somewhere. I don't know just the name of the place, but At a shopping center

Q: Wheaton.

A: Wheaton, and then I speak at

Q: Here in Washington?

A: At some country club. And then I go back to New York.

Q: For the weekend?

A: Yes.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, you are going to be on a telephone campaign, beginning at 7 o'clock on election eve, and continuing all through election day, as part of the Democratic national committee here--you, and Mrs.

A: I think that I'm going to be on the committee. I don't know how much telephoning I'll be asked to do!

Q: Well, I wanted to ask you, in case you are going to do any of the telephoning, what you will say.

A: Well, I think that will depend on what I was asked to do. I haven't been asked, as yet.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, do you have any idea how many political speeches, purely political speeches you've made for the Kennedy-Lyndon B. Johnson ticket?

A: No, I haven't counted.

Q: I mean, has it been more than a score, or . . .

A: Oh, yes. I've done quite a few, but I haven't counted up on that.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, with you long experience as the First Lady of the land, what would you advise either Mrs. Kennedy or Mrs. Nixon, as the case may turn out to be, to

prepare for, when they enter that mansion on Pennsylvania Avenue?

A: I which is out.

And on that very subject. And I went on Jack Paar's Show the other night, to be asked some questions about that.

Q: What do you think of Jack Paar? [Laughter]

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, will you be in New York City on election day, is that is?

A: I have to vote in Hyde Park; from then on I'll be in New York.

Q: Where will you be to watch the returns?

A: At home.

Q: I know this is a very awkward question to ask a lady, but would you tell me how many candles were on your birthday cake the last time you. . . .

A: Seventy-six.

Q: Seventy-six? Thank you.

Q: Do you have any plans for travel after the election?

A: Well, I have regular election trips, yes. And later on, I have one or two trips for regional meetings of the American Association of

These are regular things that I do regularly.

Q: Nothing special?

A: Oh, no. No special trips. /Pause/ Anyone else have any questions to ask? It seems to me as though they were all asked?

Q: It's been a long campaign, Mrs. Roosevelt. /Laughter/

Q: You said that you wouldn't care to predict the outcome of the election. I wondered if you would care to say how ever much you thought that it was going to be probably a very close election or not.

A: Well, I have a feeling that it's going to be a Democratic election. Now, how close, or how not, I cannot

Q: That is not a prediction, huh?

A: No, I never predict, because I think that's sort of for me. I know, I haven't been taking any polls; I've just been travelling about and listening to what leaders told me. I

Q: The poll that's being published in Newsweek this week says that they got their information in the same way. They went around and talked with the leaders of various places. So it would seem that

your method was as good as theirs. And they are publishing the results.

A: But of course, they may have talked to both Republican and Democratic leaders, and I only talked to Democratic leaders /Laughter/.

from what

I read and what I am told.

Does anybody else got any questions to ask?

Q: Thank you very much.

Text of statement made by Eleanor Roosevelt on behalf of Senator John F. Kennedy during the 1960 Presidential Campaign.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH AT CHEVY CHASE, MD., 10/10/60

Eleanor Roosevelt:

. . . because, a candidate,

last found

out. And it is

Now, I think that if I were a candidate who's already
shown my record, that

that our country

[Applause]

If we that the Democratic Party cares about

that we will have, in the

coming years,

in the campaign, a candidate

so identify with the needs of the people, that he
will be able to call upon the people, for the best
that they can do, to help

in this country, and

1. ... because, a candidate, who carries out only in the past, many young people, died at the time that they have their candidates, last found out. And it is just as truly enthroned in old ladies that the old has adequate modes of supporting him and major carried through.

→ Now I think that ~~one~~ ^{it} was a candidate who's already shown my record, that it is ^{history} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the face share of the people. that one country

. If we country a position that the Democratic party cares about history, and I hope? that we will bring in the coming years, in the campaign, a candidate [with whom we can] so identify with the needs of the people, that he will be able to call upon the people the best they [] to help the country, and

2. is the world [applause]

9. The very first thing that they need ^{we, the leadership} beautiful. And we need to have the truth about the challenges that we before us

I trusted him; I've been around the country, followed while he was making his speeches,

and I rose monumentally in respect for his abilities, and for his understanding, for his knowledge, and for his [melody] [applause].

in the world. Applause

The very first thing that we need[?] it leadership.
And we need[?] to know the truth about the challenges
that are before us, in the world today. As you know,
I felt that our best ticket, before the Convention,
would be, Adlai Stevenson Applause[?]
But the Convention decided otherwise, and I watched
our candidate with great care. I him; I've
been around the country

and rose enormously in respect for his
abilities, and for his understanding, for his know-
ledge, and for his Applause.

I think no candidate can do more than to show
you the way[?] of his[?] thinking, the trend of the way
his mind is going. Because if he's

when he is not in power, and that he's not facing
the exact circumstances for which he must
But a candidate can let you know what kind of a person
he is. And I think the debates have shown us very
clearly[?]. Mr. Nixon,

"Mr. Lodge and myself, we have greater experience, and we will take care of you." Mr. Kennedy says

Senator Johnson, "We will ask of you the best there is in you. We will tell you what the challenges are in the world today. And we will do our best to you to meet those challenges with us. [Applause]

of the kind of Mr. Lodge, obviously, because he's in the

a lecture read with more concise the value of the dollar will go down. The Democrats know how bad inflation can be just as well as the Republicans. But, they also know that you can decide what are the things that are really needed by the people. Mr. Nixon has already told that he will lower taxes on , because that's where his biggest investment, and therefore

. You can, by increasing production, and you can do it. And it will come when you increase production. And there are ways .

of doing the things that need to be done, without costing more to the people who cannot afford it.

I assure you that our candidate knows what the problems are, in the field of foreign affairs, in the field of economics. And I also know that if you had been with me at the conference held up in New York on Civil Rights, during the campaign, and which Senator Kennedy attended, you would have been impressed by the fact that four hundred people came, from forty-two states, that those there divided into panels and listened to testimony on Civil Rights, from all over this country. And everyone was surprised that the thing came off. And Senator Kennedy told them that when the recommendations were made, he would take those recommendations and follow them in his plan to improve the conditions of Civil Rights in this country.

/Applause/

And this is not merely something that affects our population at home. The time has come
no second-class citizens
in our country. But, it also means a great change
in the feeling of people in Africa, in Asia, in South

America about the United States. and the of
the United States in dealing with the people of those
countries. It would affect our leadership in all
those areas of the world, because it is most important
back at home to give the picture of what Democracy
really is, not just something to which you

, but something which you live, [Applause]
and which has the same for the peoples
of the world that we gave them in the founding of
this country.

Do you ever think that this country was founded
by people who came here for religious freedom? They
came here to escape persecution. says,

"No Catholics, Jews, Quakers,

And they looked for a place where they could be free.
And this was the idea, the basic idea to give freedom
and justice to all, not to any one group, but to all!
This is

from all over the world. And I wonder very much
whether today we've stopped , that this

is the crucial . This is really

to live that . This is really

freedom. You can't ask men,
in our country, to fight and die, to say, "You can
do this; you can serve your country in this fashion.
If you happen to be of another race or other religion,

, but you cannot run
for public office." This is unspeakable today. And
we saying
what really are thinking about is something quite
We, I would say,
different. They are saying that no

shall try to get special privileges
through legislation, through state, local, national
legislation. And for that, we can have organizations,
organizations that will watch legislation. And if
we are good citizens, we will stand up and fight
when we see something is wrong, or something is
trying to encroach on the division of church and
state which we hold dear. This depends on our
citizenship, our citizenship. But to
tell a man he can die for his country, our large
country of the world, and he cannot run for office.
Because then it infringes our Constitution

? that I can do something that on the
strength of our Constitution,

that that question will not be asked

Applause

just

Now I'd like to say^{one} thing more. I've watched the progress of this campaign, and I have a feeling that we have a chance, if on November 8th, we elect the Democratic ticket, and I think, too, your local candidate for Congress, your local candidate for state office. For whoever is elected for the Presidency, we'll need in the states, and in ^{in the states} Applause.

If you do,

I think you will find you will have leadership, which you have not had for a long time.

to vote on election day
for John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson Applause.

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24 pages
TAPED
SIDE 1A

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH AT ST. LOUIS

11/1/60

Presiding, _____,

[It is with] a sense of honor that I present to you one of the best loved women in the world today, a woman who has given so much of herself, to her country and to the world, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. [Applause]

Eleanor Roosevelt:

Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to be back in St. Louis. I seem to come here, campaigning since the days I was in the White House. And I'm always very happy to be here. As most of you know, I wanted very much, before the Convention, to have a ticket composed of Adlai Stevenson and John F. Kennedy. Those at the Convention decided otherwise. And I have watched with great care our candidate, our Democratic candidate, through the past campaign. And I've come to have great faith in him. [Interruption]

. . . and which I find the heads of these have not mentioned very much, but which, of course, has

been mentioned in. I can't point exactly to the cover, but by many groups, some of whom with real hatred, this religious question. And I thought that I would just like to say to you that I have been through Al Smith's campaign. I do not think his religion defeated Al Smith. I think that he was too much of a New Yorker. He knew only New York; he didn't know the rest of the country at all. But I think that I've seen a great difference in this campaign. There is less of the type of literature which I became very familiar with in that campaign. There is some of it. I suppose there will always be people who like to get out hate literature.

And there is, of course, . I guess you know last Sunday there was held what was to be, what was heralded as being, a real attack on having a Catholic for President. And therefore, I'd like to remind every audience I have an opportunity to remind that this country was actually settled by people who came to get away from persecution and to gain more freedom of religion. That was one of

the basic things on which our country was founded. And it was not to be freedom for one religion. It was to be freedom for all religions. And so it seems to me that we should remember this. And we should remember that in our Constitution, the men who wrote that Constitution and were so near to the people founded--who came here to found our country, they said that no one running for office should be questioned as to his race or his religion. And I saw a letter, written by George Washington, just a few days ago in New York--a very treasured letter, long hand--in which he made the point, in writing to the small, Jewish-first Jewish synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island in 1790, that we had written a Constitution that would prevent bigotry in this country for all times.

And I think we're apt to forget this. Now I also think that most of us who are afraid, are afraid of something which we really haven't thought through very carefully. We are afraid that we cannot preserve the separation between church and state. Now that is preserved, actually, by watching all church

organizations--and remember, I said all church organizations--and seeing that they do not try through law, either state or national, to gain special privileges. This has been something, that, as far as I know, almost every church organization at some point has tried to do. The effort is made through a state or local or national law to get some particular privilege for your denomination, or your special religious organization. Now this, I think, you watch for, and if you think something really harmful is being done, you should have organizations that watch legislation. You should have people alerted so that when they really think something which infringes on that separation of church and state is happening, they will try and prevent it. This is a perfectly legitimate thing. Things differ quite often, but this is a difference that we can argue and settle among ourselves, by majorities. But to say to any American citizen, "You may go to war for us, you may die for us; we won't ask what race or religion you belong to. But if you aspire to a public office, we are going to ask you those questions." I think it's

beneath contempt; and I hope very much that we are going to settle that question once and for all on November 8th. [Applause] I think. . . . I hope that no last-minute efforts will be successful.

Somebody in Illinois last week asked me if I thought if we were still apt to have any changes between now and election day. And I said, "Of course! I don't ever, being a pessimist, I don't ~~ever~~ count my votes until they are actually all in." And I'm perfectly willing to say that wherever I've been just lately, people have been very hopeful for the Democratic ticket. They've been enthusiastic. They have said they've never had such good meetings; that wherever Senator Kennedy has been, he's had crowds of people, and the general feel is that victory is in the air.

Well, I don't believe in being complacent until the very last minute, and I said to some of these people, "You must watch. . . ., because I happened to look in the New York Times today, and I saw that Mr. Nixon has announced that, if elected, he will go to the satellite countries of Eastern Europe and bring the message of freedom. Now that may well be

the beginning of promises. Of course, if you think it over, you wonder just how he will fulfill that promise because you do have to be invited. [Laughter] And I doubt very much whether the invitation will be forthcoming if he announces beforehand that he's going to bring a message of freedom." [Laughter]

But there will undoubtedly be a number of things tried. I was on the West Side of New York City just yesterday afternoon, and they brought me a four-page leaflet which was just being circulated. Now this leaflet amused me very much because it was an attack on Senator Kennedy's father. And if you read it carefully, you realized that nothing in it was actually a quotation from his father. It was all something which had been said by the German ambassador to Great Britain during the war. And the German ambassador was quoted as having said that he had seen the American ambassador, and he [Kennedy] was sympathetic to all their difficulties in Germany, and he understood their problems, particularly with the Jewish.

Well, this to me was very amusing because I knew quite well that Senator Kennedy's father had been persuaded by Mr. [Charles A.] Lindbergh that it was impossible for us to build the air force to meet the German air force. Mr. Lindbergh was persuaded of this; he believed that we should make peace with Germany, and he persuaded the ambassador in London, Ambassador Kennedy, that we should make peace with Germany. And the ambassador talked about it considerably in London, and in that time.

And my husband said to me, "The day he came to the State Dept., the first I knew when anything was going on was when I was down on the floor of my son's study. And when my husband was very much worried, he would sometimes say to me, 'I don't know what he's doing to me, and he said, 'The only thing that the President said to me was that you will see him at his office.' And I answered, 'I don't know what he's doing to me.'"

And the day when I was down on the floor of my son's study, the first I knew when anything was going on was when I was down on the floor of my son's study. And the day when I was down on the floor of my son's study, the first I knew when anything was going on was when I was down on the floor of my son's study.

would have just scorned the idea that we were not able to do whatever was required of us. And, if you remember, a great many people said we couldn't build fifty thousand airplanes, and we did. And we really can do, as a people, whatever we have to do when we put our backs into it. And I couldn't help but be amused when I looked at this pamphlet and thought, "This is all old stuff. Why is it being raked up now? It had nothing to do with Senator Kennedy. He was, at that time a little boy, and what is all this being brought up?" And then I suddenly realized, "Oh! Why this excitement on the East Side of New York about this book? It was written by some people who were as efficient as I am now." And I realized that because this was the time of Eisenhower's election that we've seen in many campaigns. The publicity was not very good then and so.

But I don't think any more than the American people are really fooled by any of these things. There was a number of years in the past when we were in a very bad way and we were very much in need of help. But I think it much better, our responsibility, to be in a position to help the people who are in need of help.

had a chance to see their candidates, to actually hear his views, and see the two candidates together so that they could compare them in their presentations. And I think it was a milestone in television news coverage and also in processes of democracy because it made possible for many people, who would otherwise not have known what their candidates were like, to form some idea of the men that they had running for the Presidency in this country.

Now, the next President of the United States is not going to have an easy time. We have problems of foreign relations; we have problems here at home. I don't know, for instance, whether here you have yet felt any of the results of automation, but this is coming. And automation has got to be met with planning; it's an extension of the growth of the machine which we've watched over a long period of time, but to a very much greater extent. Now unless we plan, unless industry, labor, and government come together on planning new industries, on arranging

the first Industrial Revolution in Great Britain. Only our consciences would not allow us to let people starve by the thousands, as they did when the machines first took the place of people in the mills of Great Britain. Now, this is a case of forethought. This is a case of seeing what is inevitably coming, of preparing for it, and of cooperation of the government saying to industry and labor, "This is your problem. You get together, and you decide what must be done on the financial and the industrial side. If you need the cooperation of government, government is ready to help you." And that is the only way, as far as I can see, that we can meet this problem of automation, and meet it so that our people do not suffer.

Now we can get a great deal that is good out of automation. Some day masses of people will have the leisure which only the rich have had in the past. But, in order to really make people better citizens, make it useful to them, we must have much change in our education, both for adults and for our young people, because in the past only the rich could really

enjoy the arts. Now, everyone isn't going to become a great painter, or a great dancer, or a great musician, but they can learn appreciation. If you just use all this extra leisure time to watch television a few more hours a day, to go to more spectator sports, you won't be really any better citizens. One of the things it will give us time to be is really to be better citizens. And so I have a feeling that again in this field, we need someone to lead with imagination, with a power to look forward and to prepare, to know that we can become a better people, but we have to have the opportunity.

And I think these are areas in which there is much to be done because with automation, men are going to find that in their work they watch a machine do what perhaps they did themselves. Now it takes good men to watch the machine, but it's not the same thing as producing the product from beginning to end and having the satisfaction of creation. All of us have that instinct of creation, and I think that means that we must have a vastly better understanding of all the different problems.

We must give all of our people an opportunity to learn products, new skills, so that they may still satisfy the desire for a creative occupation even though the way they earn their living requires just the watching of a machine.

Now these are all things that we have to think about, we have to plan for, but we have to be led. And we have to be led by someone who has the ability to make us feel that we are needed. We never would have pulled ourselves out of our economic difficulties in the Depression if the people hadn't regained confidence in themselves and felt that they could do the things that were asked. And I think we are facing times, both at home and abroad, which require this confidence all over again. And I hope very much that when you go to the polls on November the 8th, you will think of the value of youthful leadership, of leadership that has energy and force and drive.

I want to tell you a little incident. Some of the reporters were talking to me about the session which is now going on at the United Nations. Now the beginning of that session was marked by having more

leaders, heads of nations, at the United Nations than had ever been there before. And Mr. [Nikita S.] Khrushchev was partly responsible for this because the minute he announced he was coming and the satellite leaders were coming, all the others came. Now, he had never before sat in a parliamentary body where he had to listen to people who thought differently from the way he did. And this was very loathsome to him. He was very angry, and had come to the very notion of destroying the United Nations and, if possible, getting rid of the Secretary General, Mr. [Dag] Hammarskjold, whom he calls "tool of the imperialists." He behaved as boorishly and as rudely as he could possibly behave, and never without really a clear knowledge of what he was doing. The best speech for the West that was made, when all the heads of the nations were here, was made by Prime Minister [Harold] Macmillan of Great Britain. And as Mr. Khrushchev listened, he knew that this speech would make front-page news all over the country, and he determined that at least he would share part of that front-page news.

So he behaved worse through that speech than he had behaved at any time before. And he succeeded. He got at least half of the front-page news. [Laughter]

And so, I think, we have to remember what the reporters said. They said to me, "Here is a man who was rude and boorish, and he didn't win what he came for, which was the African states, but he got across the idea that he had drive and force and conviction in his beliefs, that Communism was the future of the world." And they said, "Oh, if we had a spokesman in the West who could speak for Democracy with the same conviction, with the same drive and force." Well, that's what I hope we will have.

And so I have a clear conscience in asking you all to go out and work between now and election day as hard as you possibly can, and let us win on November 8th on the Democratic ticket, both locally and in the nation. [Applause]

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH AT ST. LOUIS, 11/1/60
Second Speech

Presiding, _____,

how greatly we appreciate
your coming, and how anxious we are to hear what
you have to say. Ladies and Gentlemen, Mrs. Eleanor
Roosevelt.

Eleanor Roosevelt:

gentlemen
Ladies and ~~Gents~~, I know that I haven't very much
time to furnish a story, but I would like *to say and would* since a
great many of you here were supporters of Adlai
Stevenson and probably were disappointed as I was
when the Convention did not nominate him ~~for the~~
President. *To put* I worked hard for that nomination, and
I thought, because the problems that seemed to me
to be up for decision almost immediately were
foreign affairs problems, that our best ticket would
be one of Adlai Stevenson and John F. Kennedy. But
the Convention thought otherwise, and I have there-
fore watched Senator Kennedy very carefully. We've
talked with him, listened to him in every debate;

I've listened to many of his speeches. And I have come to respect more and more the maturity, the willingness to work, and to ask to work with him people whom he feels know more about certain subjects that he does. And immediately after ^{his} nomination, a very short time after, he asked Mr. Stevenson to come and see him, asked him to campaign, asked him to ^{do} some research, and prepare for him the things that he felt would be the most important questions, and how they should be dealt with. Immediately after the election.

Now I think it takes a big person to be willing to use people they really feel know more about certain subjects than they may know themselves. A little person is very apt to be afraid to have someone around who might know more than they did. But that has not been the case with Senator Kennedy. Now Stevenson himself told that whatever happened after election, he would want to be sure that his ideas and the candidate's--or the elected President's ideas--ran along the same lines, if he ^{were} going to do any good for him. And I can see very well out in

the field. And I can think of no better way of finding out than having this period in which there has been a certain amount of work, of contact, and undoubtedly ⁵ they're worth more. Now he has used Chester Bowles, who also is very good in the field of foreign affairs. And he is trying to find, in almost every field where he ^{felt the} need was going to be evident immediately ³ to do something. So [?] he ~~know~~ had a good background ³ and fresh ideas ³ and ones conversant with the problem.

I think that this is a very important thing to have in a President of the United States. It's quite true that once you are President, you can have ^{other} more information than almost any ^{head} of state in the world. At least my husband used to say so. But when all is said and done, you have to make the decisions; the final decision is yours. And that's ^{situation} ~~is~~ a lonely ~~decision~~ ^{circled}. But I think we have, through the campaign, had a chance to see that this was a man who was not afraid of decisions. He told me that he fully expected that there would be mistakes, that he didn't see how anyone could meet the problems

that were going to be before him³ and not make mistakes⁵ but that he was prepared to try to do things in new ways, and if you found they didn't work, to to say so³ and start again. And in the last week, going through the Middle West I have been very much impressed⁴ by the quotes that people have given me of the crowds that he has drawn, and the way in which they wanted to pat him, to touch him, shake hands with him³ and the enthusiasm³. And I have a feeling that this may be a very important myth. I think we need executive leadership, but I know that one man's leadership is not enough¹ *you have to add it* It has to be the kind of leadership which calls out the greatness of the American people. What lies below their daily concerns? What makes them able to meet great crises when they have to? And we've always met great crises; we've always been able to face whatever we had to face³ when we knew what the challenge was.

And
Now I think if you go back through this campaign, you will find that Senator Kennedy has been trying to tell us the truth as he saw it. He has not said the world was all going along very nicely and we

needn't worry. He's trying to tell us that the problems of the world were very complicated³ and ^{this is honest.} ~~that~~ we were in no easy position. ¹ This is truthful. And I think to find at this stage of the campaign² that the people are beginning to respond in this way, shows a ^S sense of identification. It shows that they are beginning to believe that this man ³ ~~can~~ ^{care} ~~about them~~. And if that is the case, then the ^{hi} ~~leadership~~ in the Executive can be very great leadership, because he has the gift to call out the loyalty and the best that is in the people of the United States. I hope this is so. It seems to me, in the last few weeks, to be one of the things that is emerging, and ^S for that reason, I am anxious that everybody who has an interest in having the problems before us met with intelligence, with vigor, really with ^{provide} the energy that only youth can provide. There is not much difference in years between the two candidates, but I think that as the campaign has gone on, I ^{have} ^{much} felt that the greatest amount of real vitality³ and of ^{care} ^{named} Senator Kennedy. ⁴ I have watched him, for instance,

at the meeting in New York, which he called right in the midst of the campaign, on Civil Rights. Senator Hubert Humphrey came down from his campaign, which is a difficult one, to chair that meeting. Four hundred leaders came from forty-two states, at their own expense. It was quite an extraordinary meeting, because it was set up in panels with witnesses, and the object was to get finally a recommendation on which to base a Civil Rights program. I'd watched the audience with almost as much interest as I listened to the witnesses. I follow pretty closely the things that happen in Civil Rights, so I was perhaps not as much surprised as some people ^{stunned} ~~who were there~~ were at some of the things that came out through the witnesses. But you're always stirred when people tell personal experiences which show courage and a determination to win. And this meeting was made up perhaps 50% of them colored people, 40% of white people. And Mr. Kennedy himself came to get the preliminary report, and spoke. And I came away with the feeling that when the findings will finally ^{and} be, on November the 1st, in California,

that he would really go to work to plan, if he was
elected, what his campaign on Civil Rights should be.

And he has a great feeling for the importance
of the executive's leadership in moral issues.
I was very much interested to find that he felt
very strongly that the strength of the presidency
should be behind a great moral issue. But he had
no right to simply say, "This is the law of the land,
and I will enforce the law of the land." He has an
obligation to say, "I believe that a certain thing is right."
And I had a feeling that we would have real progress
in Civil Rights, and besides progress, that he would
know what his objectives were and that he would
move steadily, perhaps not too fast because you
can't always move very fast, but that there would
be a steady progress towards achieving those ob-
jectives.

Now, in foreign affairs, he is, of course, very
conscious of what our problems are. I think he knows
what I'm afraid many of the people of the United
States have not yet quite realized, that we have,
as leaders of the non-Communist world, very few

problems left which are purely domestic problems.

almost every United States problem affects somewhere, ~~the people~~ of the world. And if you go around the world, one of the first questions you're asked when you go to places in Asia and Africa, is "How do you treat your minorities in the United States?" They're primarily interested, of course, because they've just won their freedom. They want to be treated with equality. And they're balancing, which way shall they go, to the Communists; to the people who speak of democracy. But in ~~whose~~ *whose* country they don't see it ~~work out~~. You will have to remember that everything that happens here is known all over the world, and ~~that quite~~ *that quite* naturally, we are judged by what we do as much as by what we say. And this is something ~~that~~ *that* we have to ~~think of~~ *think of*, because this is going to be the great year in the overall struggle for the non-committed areas of the world. And if the Soviets win with their promises of material well-being, we will wake up some day and find that we have too little of the world's surface or of the world's people on ~~our side~~ *our side of the function*.

And this is important to remember, because we are fighting that battle every day, in every community in our country.

The second question that you meet almost everywhere is something I think very few of our people have given much thought to. "We hear that in your country you pay to keep land out of production. Our people go to bed hungry every night. We hear that even ^{with} when you pay to keep land out of production, you can grow more food than your people can eat."

It's true; only we and Australia can grow more food than our people can eat. And the Lord gave us this gift, we didn't produce it. So this puts us in an interesting position, because they can't quite see why we couldn't think up ^{of some} thousand better solutions than we have thought of so far. And the truth of the matter is, of course, that we've been rather

^{lazy}. We haven't thought ~~very~~ carefully how the people ~~were~~ ^{would be} in other parts of the world. This is new to us, this leadership of the non-Communist world. We never had this problem before ^{about what} other people were feeling

and think, ^{now} but now we do! And we have the best financial ^Abrains in the world, supposedly! It means ~~solving~~ financial questions; it means also questions of transportation. It means cooperation with the United Nations, specialized agencies, Food and Agriculture, which ¹this year is going to announce a five-year program ²and ask for cooperation to lessen the hunger of the world. Perhaps it's time that we gave a little thought to this problem, not as a purely domestic problem where surpluses are a burden, but as a problem which affects world leadership ³and which could be, with real thought, perhaps ⁴caused ⁵to be an advantage to us ⁶and certainly of great advantage to many parts of the world.

It seems to me that the time has come for the leader of this country to tell this country the truth about the conditions in the world, about our position in the world, about what not only the near problems are ⁷but the far-away problems. Real statesmanship, I believe, is in avoiding crises, not in waiting until you're in a crisis and then meeting it. And I have an idea that to do that, you have

a ~~series~~ ³ with history. You have to know something about the past ³ and use it to explain the present. ³
⁷⁷ and You have ³ in our Democratic candidate ³ who ^{I believe} ³ himself ³ said a few days ago ³ that ³ he wished that he had Adlai Stevenson's brains ³. But you have a man with a very good brain, with a good education ³ and a broad base ³, and I think, what is even more important, you have a man who can grow and who can feel. ⁷ It was very interesting to me to see his reaction to West Virginia. He had never seen anything like the conditions in West Virginia before in his life. Now there are a good ³ plenty ³ of ³ us who haven't seen real hunger. In fact, I saw a young man two days ago ³ who said to me, "Oh, don't talk nonsense! There's nobody really hungry in the United States." Well, I said, ⁷ I'll take you right this minute if you want to go to places where there are people who are really hungry." When he reacted usefully, he immediately felt something had to be done. Well I remember, in the days of the Depression, looking up the various times that the coal industry, which ³ ^{is} ³ was ³ one of the main things

that affects West Virginia, had been explored by
commissions, ³ to describe ^{decide} what should be done. There
were six ³ long ^{full} reports on the coal industry, neatly
pigeon-holed, and nobody had ever done one single
thing about them. Now I don't think that could
happen, ³ because I think that he's ⁵ going to want to
see something done for people. I asked him the
other day if he had found--I had been in West Virginia ^{it} ~~it~~--
some kind of a plan. He said, "No. They haven't
come up with any plan I think really feasible for
West Virginia yet. But something has to be done."
And that is a very good spirit, and I think something
can be done. But you have to have that gift of
imagination and real caring. [#] And perhaps it is
that thing--that he cares, that he is creating a
certain sense of identification ⁶ between the crowds
that come out to see him. And that is to me one
of the most important things. We need leadership;
we haven't had it. We need it badly, and I think
that we can have it, if every one of us works between
now and election day ³ and makes sure that everybody
goes to the polls who can ⁷ vote ⁷ and is persuaded to

vote the Democratic ticket, if they possibly can be persuaded. You have here a young Congressman,

Mr. Scott, running for office. I hope, and

I want to add this word, because I think *it's so*

important - I hope that in every *state* we are going to see to it that we send as many Democrats to

Washington as we can, *and* as many to our state

capitols, for the reason that I think we need the *support of the*

legislative bodies of this country, in order to

accomplish the aims. We may have many problems that

I haven't *the* time to mention today. But we

actually need, in Congress, and in our state legis-

latures, the people who will help. And so I can

ask you, with real conviction, to vote for the

Democratic ticket on election day. And I hope that

on November 8th, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson

will be elected. *[Applause]*

Presiding, _____,

Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt; *and* thank you very much, Ladies and Gentlemen. The meeting is adjourned.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. PRESS CONFERENCE, Chicago, Illinois OCTOBER 28, 1960

Eleanor Roosevelt:

" . . . of this, that's all that they can do, because the whole world is watching them, and the meaning of Democracy is painted here in every community, and they compare it with what's been shown by Communism. Now, Communism promises only material things, but we have to promise not only material things, but something more. We have to promise, recognition of the individual, and, importantly, his right of participation in our government. Unintelligible

" . . . because newly free countries, they fought for freedom and equality. And now, they have all the problems and the difficulties of setting up a government. They want help; they want it through the U.N. And we can give it through the U.N. And we can really help, but they have to trust us. They have to believe that what we are offering, we really mean. If they find that we don't live the way we talk, then it hurts our

leadership very much indeed. So that I think the things that are of paramount importance for us are really to make our country the very best country, for all the people we can possibly make it; and show that even if we haven't achieved a perfect democracy, we are trying to do so. And then, I think, we have to remember that when we try for better housing, better schools, better recreational facilities, we're not only doing the thing for our own communities and our own children, we are showing the world the standards that we believe human beings are entitled to have. S

"So, I think that the continuing increase in the way that people are accepting Senator Kennedy comes from the fact that they are beginning to understand that we have a candidate who does care about people. And this I think is the distinguishing mark of the Democratic Party through its history. All the things such as Social Security were begun by the Democratic Administrations. And, while the Republicans say many things against them, they very rarely repeal them. [Laughter/Applause] And what we need is to improve, because new circumstances have arisen, new conditions. . . .

"And so, I just want to congratulate you on the political birth-to-be, and I hope with all my heart that Senator Kennedy will be elected on November 8th, and that we will have an Administration that cares about the people of our country, and because we do things for our own people, we will be helping the world." /Applause/

/Prolongued interruption/

Q. "My question is, what can we do to stem Communism in Latin America?"

A. /Interruption/ "The question is, all the things that we can do to stem Communism in Latin America. There are things that we can do to stem Communism in Latin America. They are very largely things that we do at home. What we paint of the United States as going on, in the United States, has great effect in Latin America. For instance, if we make, in this campaign, a tremendous religious issue, it has a bad effect in the countries, not only in Latin America, but countries of Europe, and of other parts of the world, because they know an enormous amount. . . . This is a very curious thing. They know a great deal about our Constitution. And,

in fact, our Bill of Rights is one of the things that you will find repeated many, many times, in countries all over the world. And they say, "But, you say that a man shall not be asked about his race or religion.

You let ~~them~~ citizens go to war and die for your country, but you're not going to let them serve their country as public servants." This has a very bad effect in countries that have different religions from ours. And I think that one of the things we can do is to show that we really understand the difference between a man's right to run for office and to be elected to public service, and our belief in the division of church and state, which is a question of not allowing any church organization, religious or organization to obtain special privileges by law.

"I just this morning read of I think it was a Baptist group in Tennessee that have a got a lot of taxes taken out of the locality, because they get tax exemption on a number of things which are really businesses. Now, all church organizations are going to do this, but it's up to us as good citizens to see that they do not get special privileges, either by

state or national law, because we believe in a division of church and state. That's what we're really afraid of. We're not afraid of the election of a man to office; he has a right to this. But we're afraid of the laws which church organizations will try to pass. And this you can watch, through organizations. If you're an alert citizen, you will fight it. And you can prevent it. But you don't prevent it by going against your Constitution, and saying that any man doesn't have a right to serve his country in public."

- Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, I have a question on the religion field. Many observations are made, that it is considered wrong to vote against Senator Kennedy because of his religion, but many people plan to vote for him because of his religion. Would you comment on that?
- A. Well, I would not think that his religion should come into your reasons at all. I think his ability, and what he proves himself to be, as he goes about the country, and as he tells you what he hopes to do, are the criterions that you should use in making up your mind who you want to vote for. Religion is not

a good criterion, either for or against.

- Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, there are quite a few women here from organized labor. How do you think the labor issue is shaping up in this campaign? What are the major differences as expressed between the candidates?
- A. Well, we've had, now, quite a long period of Republican office-holders. We are told that labor never had a better situation, that they're better off than they ever were. But, we know that in the automobile industry and in the steel industry, automation had already begun to be felt. And there are pockets in this country, not only of depressed areas, but where there is great unemployment. Now, labor people should be deeply interested in how automation is going to be handled. Now, automation is nothing more than the development of the machine, but it's a development very rapidly coming, and in much major proportions to what this coming implies. This is going to require cooperation between industry and labor, and government, because people are going to have to be retrained, plans are going to have to be made for new industries, which should be begun before automation is put in, in .

in old industries. And people should not be just thrown out of a job. We're not in the period of the first Industrial Revolution. We are in a period of industrial revolution, or we are coming to the full feeling of it. And in the first Industrial Revolution in England, when the first machines came into the textile industry, people died of starvation by the thousands. Fortunately, our education, our conscience has improved somewhat, and we would not feel that we could allow that today. But this is going to take knowledge, planning, retraining. It can't be done yet, as was done in a rather haphazard way in the past, because this is a great change. And a great deal goes with it; it can be of great value to masses of people, masses of people who never had the opportunity to enjoy certain things in life. With proper changes in our education, they can now enjoy all the things that the rich people alone could enjoy in the past. But you have to have education; you have to have changes in the type of education, because you have to be able to appreciate the things, or you can't enjoy them. And you don't hear anybody. . . .

Have you heard anyone telling you what was coming, and what should be done, and what we should be thinking about? No. Now, I think the Democrats know, and I think Senator Kennedy, while, wisely, he's not laying down any details to be torn apart, has a consciousness that there is a problem before us. And we've been going along as though there was no problem.

- Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, are you at all concerned with the possibility that the federal payroll will grow by thousands and thousands and thousands of people as government takes over more supervision of . . .
- A. No, it's grown much more in the last eight years than it did before [Laughter], and government will not take over and does not have to take over more supervision. Government can cooperate without taking over more supervision.
- Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, to get back to the religious issue, if we could for a moment, you said that the discussion of religion in a political campaign alarms people overseas. Do you feel that the religious issue in this political campaign to date has damaged American prestige overseas, simply by its very discussion, its

very existence?

A. I hope not. But I think people overseas wonder about us, whether we're mature, whether we really have the tolerance that we say we have.

Q. On the other hand, Mrs. Roosevelt, there are parts of the world where separation of church and state has not been . . . And perhaps in those lands people are rather grateful that we are making this a very clear issue. Is that not possible, or are they always resentful?

A. It is possible. It is possible. There are certain places where church supercedes government, and where that happens, then you will find people unhappy.

Q. Will you tell us briefly what you do between now and November 8th, and where you will be on election day?

[Laughter]

A. I'll be at Hyde Park in the morning to vote, and I'll be in New York in the afternoon. And between now and election day, I will be in a number of places.

Q. The Middle West primarily, or Middle West and East, or . . .

A. Middle West and in New York.

Q. Could you give us any idea, Mrs. Roosevelt, of how

long a working day you're putting in now? This is four years later than. . . .

A. Oh, no, no . . .

Q. It's still a pretty long one?

A. Fair.

Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, you're surrounded by the labor movement, here. These are all women from organized labor. . . .

A. Yes, I do belong to a union, but it happens that on that work I don't put in my long working day. [Laughter]

[Interruption]

throughout the world
Q. . . . that our prestige is at an all-time low.

A. [Answer not discernable]

Q. But Senator Kennedy has made that a major part of his campaign. He has said that our prestige is low throughout the world.

A. You can't be

Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, why are you in the Midwest? Is Jack in trouble in the Midwest?

A. No, I don't think so. It think that it's probably quite unnecessary to be here

which I would

do in any case. And so then naturally

Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, how many Presidential campaigns does this make for you?

A. Oh, I haven't the faintest idea. I began with the

Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, do you think that the religious issue in this campaign has hurt our prestige, for example in Latin American countries, in Catholic countries?

A. Yes.

Q. How?

A. Well, they think our Constitution a very important thing, because our Constitution, and our Bill of Rights are better known in foreign countries than almost any other document, except possibly the Charter of the United Nations, the preamble to the Charter, which was cited by Harry S. Truman in speech. But probably outside of that, our Constitution and our Bill of Rights are the best known documents everywhere, in almost every country, Asia, South America, or Africa. And so we feel that since Constitution says we

will not ask anybody of their race or their religion

Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, do you feel that the televised debates between the two candidates are bringing the campaign to the people better than during your husband's campaign?

A. I think it was a milestone in the usefulness of television millions of people have seen the candidate

And I think it had an enormous effect on both the knowledge of the voter and

Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, in recent weeks, perhaps the last week, nationwide polls almost unanimously show that Senator Kennedy is well out in front of his opponent. Now, number one, I'd like to know if you agree with that, and number two, if you think that is really a good thing, I mean, for a poll to show a man out in front, thereby making the other man an underdog?

A. I don't think you can

After all

you have to get of what the facts are. So, I don't know whether the polls are

a good thing. But if you're taking polls, you've
to say what it would show. And so, I'm afraid

now and then. I have not
have any idea whatsoever,

really, about I would
say areas that I know perhaps there's
a chance

Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, can you give us any idea how much
ing campaign you're doing on behalf of Mr. Kennedy?

A.
perhaps could be.

and I'm to what
I can, and what his people will let me.

Q. How do you see your New York State? Do you see it
going for . . .

A. I would say New York is even.

Now that doesn't mean any-
thing

Q. Mrs. Roosevelt, four years from now, one of these

two gentlemen will be the President, and will be running for re-election. Do you think that the President of the United States should get into a debate on national television and radio with another candidate?

A. Well, if he's planning to

It's the only thing

what is happening, and where business has got to be.

you have an educated man in the White House, who will take the people into his confidence, and will tell them the truth about what is going, and not just happy. But if you really tell them what's happening in the world, then I think

Q. In other words, you'd like to see more Fireside Chats by the new President, similar to those of Mrs. Roosevelt?

A. I think it's almost essential. Because there's nobody else the reality

of the world situation and the except the
President.

A. Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt.

Q. Thank, you, Mrs. Roosevelt. One more question. Ar
of the Richard M. Nixon-Henry C., Jr.
Lodge field campaign organization say they feel that
themselves two-to-one pending
section. What's your reaction to this?

A. I doubt it.

Q. Thank you very much.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH AT Indianapolis, Indiana
speech on leadership - (UN Day Address?)

Eleanor Roosevelt:

N Now, my subject is, Is America Facing up to World Leadership? But so many people are inclined to say, "Why should we face up to world leadership?" We went along very comfortably for a great many years. We didn't feel any compulsion to lead, the world. Why should we have to face up to world leadership?" So I think we have to go back for a minute, into the past, and remember certain things. At the end of World War I, a good many of the countries of Europe, which had struggled with each other for world leadership, ^{have} ~~were~~ a little shaken in their leadership. But by the end of World War II, there wasn't any question. There was no country in Europe that had the wherewithal to really lead any longer. And all the countries that were actually

in World War II had suffered so much destruction within their own countries, with the

exception of the United States and Canada. We were the only nation that did not have to clear away miles and miles of rubble, before we could begin to build.* We had a little difficulty; you may remember, after World War II, we had hunger charges in many parts of our country. That was, however, only because we had not been able to build during the War, because we needed the materials for other things. But we had not lost factory after factory; we had not lost public buildings, and monuments that were cherished in history. In fact, no bomb had ever fallen anywhere in our country. If you have not seen a devastated area from bombs, it is hard, I know, to realize what it means. I remember yet, standing, in the autumn of '42, on the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. I'd been asked by the Queen of England to come over and see what the Great Britain were doing in the War. And I worked very hard *in five weeks* to see what they were doing in the War. But that first glimpse--the King and Queen *themselves* It was just after the blitz in the heart of London, in the city of London.

And [it had been] followed by a fire which had destroyed everything that the bombing had not destroyed. And as we stood ^{there} and looked, for miles around there was nothing but rubble. Here and there a wall was still standing, but nothing anywhere

It was just ^{holes} and bits of brick and mortar. It was a really horrible sight. And as the mind plays tricks on one now and then, a rather amusing little story came into my mind.

When my husband was going to School, was entering, they gave a general information test. And in that test, they asked the question, who is the old lady of ^{Threadneedle} Street. And my husband was the only boy who was able to answer it. And the only reason he was able to answer it, was, that his father had once taken him, ~~when~~ ^{when} a little boy, down into the same London, opposite the Bank of England, and pointed at it, and said, "There is the old Lady of Threadneedle Street."

And as I looked at the destruction all around me, I suddenly thought, Oh, the old lady of Threadneedle Street had a roll. It'll take her a long

while to recover. And she had.

It took staunchness on the part of the British people. It took sacrifice. It took years of work after the war was over, to patch up, to clear away, first of all, and rebuild. And so, all these countries--
and
France, Germany, Russia even. Where are they going to get help? We were the only country that had more productive capacity at the end of World War II than we had at the beginning. And so quite naturally, the leadership of the world fell into our arms.

Now, we weren't quite prepared for this
q leadership. We never had thought in terms, before, of being near to the world. Fortunately for us, we were made up of people from many areas of the world. We had a tremendous number of races and religions, and different custom right here in the United States, that we could learn from. But we had never taken any real point of view in what we did; we had primarily thought of what was good for us; as Americans.² What would help us, our economy? What should we do for our own . . . We had had world trade. From the very earliest days, our

clipper ships had sailed the high seas. And, as you know, you Yankee traders had made themselves a name for being pretty sharp traders. Sometimes, when people talked about colonial countries, they would look at you and say, "You are not a colonial country, but you are very like them in your trade and politics." And so we had a little bit, in the minds of some areas of the world, the tinge of being at least with the colonial countries. But actu

But actually to study the world, to know intimately about these people, the habits and customs and religions of the world, this is something we hardly thought necessary to teach our children. And yet it's our burden to lead; you have to know the people, you have to know the people that you're going to lead. And so, overnight, we had a responsibility, something thrust upon us, which we had to face. Whether we liked it or not, it was ours. And this was a very great responsibility because in leadership, particularly the leadership of a country, and of a democracy, very especially, it has to be a greatness in the people; it cannot be just a few people at the top.

It has to be a greatness in the people, who understand and realize the position that they must hold, and who chose very carefully the people who are going to be their representatives and who are going to lead in what is going to happen in the world as a whole.

Very fortunately, I think, before the end of the War, because some of our leaders in the War knew that we would be ready to set up an organization to prevent war actually when the fear of war and its results was still upon us, we set up immediately the organization of the United Nations. And that has been, for us, of infinite benefit. It has helped us very greatly the world point of view that we had to have. I think it was fortunate for us that its headquarters happened to be in New York. Mr. Khrushchev would now like to remove it from New York, because he thinks we have too much influence on . I don't think that that is so, and I think it would be a pity, when we've built up the physical surroundings which make it possible for the Secretariat to work. And this is a highly trained, and a very large Secretariat. And

they now have the facilities with which to carry on their work, and to rebuild that anywhere else in the world I think would be very cost and also not easy to do. So I am very hopeful that we will uphold in our country the United Nations. Not because I think any one nation should dominate it. This is the one machine where all the nations can come in as equals, moreover can feel that they can put forward their point of view, their problems.

But for us it has enormous value, because here is where we can learn from the representatives that come from every country of the world, things that perhaps would be difficult for us to acquire in any other way. More and more of our people are having the opportunity to work through the United Nations in different parts of the world, and come back into their communities and tell their communities about the things they have learned, they have seen, they have felt. And you know, it's important to come into personal contact with different situations, because you never are allowed to understand something just intellectually. You have to feel what people feel,

to really have the depth of understanding necessary to be a good . And this is what we, the people of the United States, are now called up on to do. We are called upon to be first example of the things we believe in, and what they can do for the people. And the only way that we can be that example is by showing at home what can be done in a democracy, for the well-being of the people. I think this is something which is particularly important to you, as a group of teachers. I think you know that on the schools of the country much of its possible leadership depends. Because it is out of what we learn, and what we believe, that we become the kind of citizens of a democracy that are picked for leadership in the world today. You can give your students curiosity. I think one of the most important things in teaching is to excite and keep up the natural curiosity of students. I think that it is a great thing for a child to get questions answered. And I know just how trying it is to be asked a million questions every day. But to take them seriously and to try to answer them is the way

that
a child learns, and the way that his curiosity is
led into new avenues. I used to be amused, because
my husband had a theory that if you just left things
where children could see them, they would become
curious about them, and to our astonishment, how if
you left a book open so the pictures caught the eye,
how suddenly the child would read the book. And I
think there is a basic thing in fostering curiosity,
and letting our children roam through all sorts of
interests. It's really not enough to just learn something
of the book. That's the way perhaps you have to begin,
but you should be allowed to follow out, and look as
much as you can at new things everywhere. Follow
your curiosity. And if that can be fostered, and if
with it can go the knowledge that integrity in learning
is very important, that is isn't enough to slide
through by making believe that you know, that you
must really know. Then you've done a great deal towards
building something who can have leadership in the world.

I spent a great deal of my youth just picking
other people's brains, because I felt I knew so
little, and standing by just like that, making

believe that I knew about something that I didn't know about, but trying to find out, find out, find out. And I found that when you got a sense of obligation to really know, then you've made a real

. That's what makes a good researcher; that's what makes the really good student.

And we need leaders in this country. We need them today as we have never needed them before, because we are engaged in a great overall struggle in world . Either the world is going to be a Communist world, or it's going to be a democratic

- 1 world. Now, I don't think we do enough to make our young people clearly understand the values of Democracy, what really makes our country the hope of the world when we were founded. What attracted to our shores those first people, like Thomas Jefferson, and Patrick Henry, and George Washington? It was an idea; it was the idea that people could have freedom and justice, and that they could have something to say about it themselves, that they could have a share in their government. Every time I know of people who don't use their franchise, I think how sad it is that our

forefathers fought so hard that we should have this right, and then think so lightly of it that we do not use it.

This is what we should give our children today, the sense that this is a great idea, that it's based on the belief in the individual, in the individual's worth. The fact that every individual has

and therefore has value.

This is the basis of what a democracy really means. Surely we must see that our economy is sound, that our people have food and clothing. And we must work for those ends. But that's not enough. Man does not live by bread alone. Now, the Soviets are offering the material things, and what they offer is done in a way which is very effective, and sounds very plausible. "We are much nearer to your conditions," they say to the uncommitted nations of the world. "We know how hard it is to set up a government. We know how hard it is to set up an educational system. We know how hard it is to start sanitation in a country that has never had it. We know all your difficulties. We're a lot closer to

them! The United States can't help you. We can help you. And you should remember always that until a man has food, nothing very much else will matter.

So you must do two things at the same time. You must give the hope for a material well-being, but nevertheless, the idea and the ideals that really makes Democracy, I think, as much today the wave of the future as it ever was. Now, we know quite well that we haven't got a perfect Democracy in our own country. We have many things still to do. But, because we have the right to know what goes on anywhere in our country, because we have the right to act as we think right, we can move forward, and we can strive to do the things which will constantly improve our democracy. Civil rights, for instance, is one of the things that we must work on in our own country for the simple reason that, important as it is to us at home, it's far more important in our leadership in the world. It hurts our leadership in the world every time they hear that we have such a thing as a second-class citizen in this country. And in facing up to world leadership, we can no

longer think this is a question that education can take care of, that we can take our time on. There's no time to waste. The fight between Communism and Democracy goes on constantly. And one of the things that affects our leadership most in the world is the question of how we treat our minorities at home. And this is a question of world leadership, because you must show in your own country what you really believe in, and that you are trying to achieve it, or why should people believe that you will do what they are hoping? People for instance, in Asia and recently Africa, have just regained their freedom. It is a very difficult thing for them to face the responsibilities that come with freedom. They have to set up a government, they have to start an educational system, a sanitation corps. They have to do all the things, at once! And this is no easy undertaking; they need help, but they want it as equals to equals. They want their freedom; why should they be looked down upon?

And this is something we have to learn and remember, because it affects our leadership. It is

true that the more we can give through the United Nations, and the more we can work through the United Nations, the better it will be, because we are all members of the United Nations, therefore there is a basic equality that is accepted. And in removing that fear, we who have just won our political freedom, now are we to be afraid of economic domination? of cultural domination from one area?

This is a natural thing. And so we must realize that much of our leadership has to be shown in the United Nations. It has to be the people that basically show what they really mean by being in the U.N. They, after all, choose their leaders at home, and so the rest of the people of the world watch. They watch everything that happens here. We have such good communications, that anything that happens here goes out through the whole world almost as quickly as it happens. So we can't say, "Oh well, that was a small incident!" And it rates a very little notice; perhaps only one of our states knew about it. Because if it has an interest for any other country

in the world, that country will have it on the front page of its newspapers, and it will be known everywhere in the world. I happened to be in Tokyo some years ago, when a little incident happened which rated in our New York papers about three paragraphs, and the next day, just one, saying that our Secretary of State had apologized for the incident. And that was the end over here. But in Tokyo, we had three days of banner headlines that dealt with nothing else but that incident.

Now if you are facing world leadership, you have to learn to remember that everything you do here has an effect in the world. For instance, you will remember, some of our difficulties in Peru, South America, last year. They rose--most people have no recollection of this--but they rose from two speeches made by the Senators from that state, in the interests of their state's economy. Now, they had to make those speeches. We knew that those speeches didn't mean that what they advocated was going to happen. We knew that it would have to pass the Senate, and it would have to pass the

President, and in all probability, it had died with the two speeches. But those two speeches were published in Peru, and if what they advocated had come about, it would have ruined the economy of Peru. Now, the senators were talking about the economy of their state, but both the Senate and the President would have had to think about the world situation, and try to solve that state problem on a basis which would not affect the world situation. And this we will have to do increasingly, because we cannot think of just our own interests in any one part of our country. We have to think of the effects on different parts of the world.

But in Peru, they didn't know that this was just two senator's speeches. They thought this was going to be done, and they were very angry and very frightened. And they demonstrated against this, and it became a very important . And most of our people didn't understand it, and wouldn't have understood even if they had known. But actually, it was due to the fact that two of our senators had not yet learned that we were a world leader, that we had to

think in terms of the world, and we could not, through our representatives, think and speak in terms of any particular state. And this is difficult for us, just as it's difficult for us to face the fact that, let us say, our agricultural policy is no longer a question purely of domestic interests. We always thought that what we did in our agricultural policy was just of interest to us. Nobody else had anything to say, and we didn't have to bother about anyone else. But you go around the world today, and one of the first things that you will be asked, is, "We hear that in your country, you pay to keep land out of production. Our people go to bed hungry every night. We also hear that in spite of paying to keep land out of production, you will have more food of certain kinds in your country than your people can eat." Now, of course, we know that this is not strictly true, that there are areas of our country where there are hungry people, that we've not really worked out our own problems satisfactorily. But nevertheless, to the people in other parts of the world, this seems incredible, that one country should have such fer-

fertility that it can actually not use its resources to the fullest, and still have more to eat potentially, than actually the population needs. This is really unheard of. Most of the areas of the world cannot grow enough food for their own people. Even Russia can barely grow enough wheat for its own people. China tried very hard, and fell down. Other areas of the world are trying very hard to increase their production, but still people go to bed hungry.

Now that's a very difficult question to face. It's difficult because it means that we have not accepted our world, that we have not actually set our best brains in this country to work, to find an answer to the difficult financial problems involved, to the difficulties of distribution, to the difficulties of the type of things that we produce at a surplus. We have an educated farm population, a literate farm population; we have a

which could produce many different kinds of services. Canada can only produce wheat, because of its climate. With careful study, with cooperation on food and agriculture in the specialized agency

of the United Nations, we could probably do something about this world problem. But we've been very lazy. We've been very lazy for the simple reason that it is a difficult problem. But ^{none} ~~not~~ the problems that face us today as world leaders are going to be easy problems. They are difficult problems. And we've got to have the willingness to face the fact that that these are the problems which world leadership brings upon us, that we can't get away from.

And then I think there is another thing in world leaders ip. We have been a country where we have so much space, that many ~~times~~ people have travelled very little, or travelled only where they ^{has} used their own language. And so it ~~never~~ seemed very important to us to know the languages of other people, People who live on the borders of Mexico learn Spanish, But as a whole, in our educational system, we have not given a great deal of thought to what knowing a language means, when you go

another country. I was struck by this when I went to the Soviet Union. That was one I felt I could learn from them. They give a child ~~choice~~

choice; now it's three languages: English, Chinese, and German. And that child will learn that language for the whole ten years they are in school. And when they finish, they will speak that language just the way they speak their own. I asked a young translator, interpreter in Geneva once, if he had not studied in the United States, his English was so good, but it was United States English. And he looked at me, and he said, "Oh, no! I haven't studied anywhere but Moscow. But, you know, we can learn English with an American accent, or English with a British accent." And I hesitated to reply, and I said, "Very curious," and I was overwhelmed.

But it is a wonderful thing to teach a language so that you are absolutely good at it. You learn how to learn a language. And then they give an incentive. When you come to higher education, the government gives a subsidy, a living subsidy, a bare existence subsidy. But, if you learn one more ~~END~~

SADE 10, SADE 17.

BEGIN SADE 18, SADE 111

Eleanor Roosevelt:

. . . for government. And this will be called upon,
of course. through the U.N., and

individually, to take the opportunity to go and

the overall problems in the world today.

And being the leaders of the non-Communist world,

it's very important that our young people have a

sense of their responsibility, their responsibility

to be prepared to be qualified to serve their country

in this way. In an atomic war, if it should ever come,

there would be so few people left that

there is no need thinking about it. So I think we

really have to think of how we can learn to live

together with the other people of the world. Now

it's very difficult to expect the people who are

Communist, because they are afraid of us, and we

are afraid of them. But we can be prepared,

prepared to ~~halt~~ wherever we possibly can. It has

to come through our education. It has to come first,

through our understanding of what leadership means

in the world.

We, I think, are always ready as people to face

the responsibilities that we understand. When we

are told that these are the things that we have to do, we always somehow do them. All through our history, people have risen to whatever they actually had to face. But now we have a long, continuing struggle. It's not something you're going to solve tomorrow, or the next day, but at some point you're going to begin to accept it. So far you've been shutting it away, and saying, "Well, we don't really think it's necessary to think this way, or to do this." But the time is coming when we will have to make some decisions. We will have to decide whether we are really going to assist our , or whether we will accept more or less, in the non-Communist areas of the world. So we have a very grave responsibility. I think we can face our responsibility. I think we can meet it. But I think it's going to take a great deal of people that have a lot of training, that are willing to follow great leadership, that are anxious to be told the truth, about the real world in which they live, that are sure of the things they believe in, that have a great sense of pride in living in a democracy, who have a firm

belief in God, in having a real sense of support beyond their own strength. I think we can have all these things, but I think we have to do our share. We, the people, have to really work, to have the courage ourselves to stand up for what we believe. It's not an easy thing

I know, because once in the United Nations, I was the only vote in a committee of sixty that stood for one thing, when all the others voted the other way, and they threw me out of the conference. And during the next year, one of the things I stood for was adopted. So I think we as a nation, as a people, must have this particular courage, and we must feel our importance in the world, feel our importance as individuals in our nation, because the nation is only as strong as the individuals in it make it. I think we can face our world leadership, and I think if we do so, we will find that it is possible to

and to give our children and the children of the world the hopes of the future. That is what all people want; that is what all of us pray for. And so, for that reason, I ask of you, perhaps the

most influential people in the United States, to accept your leadership, and to see that you give the children of this country the sense that with God's help they can be the leaders of the non-Communist world, and in the end, the leaders of the world.

/Applause//Interruption/

Q: "Mrs. Roosevelt, how effective do you think the exchange of students between our country going to their country, and their students coming here, how effective is this, and can it be more effective?"

A: I think it's very effective. I think that we can make it more effective, and I think we can have more students. Do you realize what the Soviet Union has done for African students in the past year? They've opened an African center, and they have thousands and thousands that they not only bring, but they pay all their expenses of getting there, as well as when they are there. And I think that we could do more, and we could do more in many other ways. We could do more in exchanges of teachers, in exchanges of workers, in many fields. And I think exchanges the are most valuable things we can possibly

Q: I have one question written here from the floor; it is a bit complicated. "If Russia does not wreck the United Nations first, can we as a world leader continue to be a member of the United Nations? when and if the time comes that the small

nations with Russia hinder and partly control just leadership on our part? Will the American people support such a situation for any length of time?"

A: Such a situation is not likely to arise. Russia is not going to succeed in wrecking the U.N. She tried very hard in the General Assembly, in its last session, to wreck Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld himself, and the U.N., and he did not succeed. And the African and new nations' vote were . Now, this is a question of leadership. The United States, if it has good leadership, if it doesn't try to dominate the U.N.-- this is bad--but if it tries really to lead and to inform, I think it can hold new nations, and can explain the situations which perhaps seem very complicated to a nation, which is naturally lacking in

sympathy, which has naturally not the world's point of view. But, to feel that we are not able to do this, and that Russia is going to wreck the U.N. is, I think, and entirely unwarranted ~~fact~~. I think we saw, in the votes that came through the U.N.

that Khrushchev could not wreck the United Nations, or even Mr. Hammarskjold, the Secretary General.

There is one thing, however, that, despite all his boorishness and all his acting, which hurt, and think he did do, and this is something we should learn from. Some of the reporters told me they felt that he had such a deep conviction and belief in the Communist ideas, and he spoke with such force, that people were impressed, impressed with his conviction. And they [reporters] regretted, and I regretted, that on our side in the whole East, we do not have a single spokesman who is articulate enough, or who has that

in the United States. [Applause]

Q: [Question from floor, not audible] The question is, "Do you think federal aid to education would control the teaching in the schools, and the subject matter?"

A: No, I don't. believe that federal aid to education is necessary for two things, to help the states to have a sufficient number of seats for their children, and to run a school for the proper number of weeks, also to help in raising teachers' salaries. I think that is an essential thing. I'm sorry, but this is an economy where we gauge the importance of the people largely by what we earn. And when we do not pay our teachers actually enough to really give them a position of importance, we are going great harm to our own educational system. In addition, I think we need to think of how we can make our teachers more important in their communities. They should carry great influence in their communities in order to have an influence with the children that they need.

Now, I do not think that there is the slightest reason why accepting federal need affect the in curriculum, or in any other way. We had Land Grant colleges in this country for a very long time, and I don't think their curriculum has been in any way affected. And this is a federal aid.

And I have no fear of control by the federal government. I would like, but I don't suppose there's a chance of having it, I would like to have some minimum standards of the number of weeks and what children

set by the federal government for all the schools of ~~the~~ country, because we are a moving population. And in going around the country, I find that the differences in the standards of the schools is quite deplorable. And I think this might be a great help.

But I do not think that it should be control of the curriculum in the schools themselves. It should be a standard that one should live up to. [Applause]

A: I think that's the question we must call it a halt to, and we want to thank Mrs. Roosevelt . . . [Not recorded]

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. INTERVIEW WITH

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, you've seen a great many Presidential elections in your time. Where do you see this one in the history of the United States?

A: Well, strangely enough, I think this is one of the most important elections that we've had, almost perhaps since my husband was elected in '32. Because then we were in an economic crisis; now I think we are in a crisis which is a crisis on how we are going to formulate our foreign affairs. And therefore, it seems to me, that to us and to the world, this is a most important election.

Q: I mean, do you feel that things are going very badly wrong, at the moment in international affairs?

A: Well, I don't know that they are going so wrong. I don't believe that we are in positive danger, it isn't.....

Q: No.

A: But I do feel that things could be much better than they are, and I think that they are coming to a point where some decisions will have to be made. So far

we have not made decisions; we've met crises when they occurred, and were created by somebody else. Now, I think the time is going to come when we're going to have to come to certain decisions.

Q: What kind of decision do you have in mind?

A: Well, I have in mind trying to settle some of the political difficulties around the world, and trying to bring a real peace, for instance, in the Near East, which would not [Interruption]. Even then, trying to help in the decisions which eventually will have to come in the Far East.

Q: In Britain, you know, people have been wondering whether there would be a decision on admitting China to the United Nations.

A: Well, that'd be part of the fact that we are being constantly urged to come to complete disarmament. We can make no permanent arrangements on complete disarmament without having China included. And what may mean she would just come in for the arrangement. But I think it would eventually have to mean that she became a member. Now, the idea of the United Nations is that it should be universal.

And we will be moving towards that type. All these are decisions that our government will have to make in the next few years.

Q: Do the Democrats have a definite position on, for instance, the China question?

A: Well, I don't know that they are actually going out to tell everybody what they will do, because I think that our candidate is wise enough to know that it is never wise to state your position until you actually have all the circumstances before you. But I think the general knowledge that some decisions have to be reached, and preparation for it, the mere fact that our candidate has asked Mr. Stevenson to prepare a memorandum for him, in case of his election, as a picture of the world, is a sign that he wished to be prepared.

Q: Do you think there's a definite difference, on the subject of China, between the Democrats and the Republicans?

A: No, I don't know that there would be. You know, the people change their positions as they are to change them. But actually at present, there is a

large group, a very large group of Republicans who believe firmly that we must have nothing to do in dealing with the Communists, and who cannot conceive anything ./. Well, that is difficult way with which to put it.

Q: I can't resist asking you this; you mentioned Stevenson advising Mr. Kennedy on foreign affairs. Many people in Britain would like to see Stevenson as the Democrats' Secretary of State. Would you like to see that?

A: I would like to see it personally, but that does not mean. . . . I have not even asked our candidate

No candidate has the right, for a consideration, to name someone to a Cabinet post, before he is elected. And you couldn't say that you weren't doing it for a consideration, when you were asking the man to give you advice, and campaign for you. And so, it would be illegal for Mr. Kennedy to say that he would name Mr. Stevenson. He'd certainly refuse him. And I think that's a very good thing, because many younger people are afraid to use older people whom they feel might be more expert along certain lines. And it's a sign of being

a big person when you're not afraid of having "big" people around you.

A: Now, on this subject of Kennedy's personality, do you think that a man of forty-three, ~~with~~ his particular background, is mature enough and experienced enough to handle the United States, particularly in the foreign field, which you say is so critically important?

A: Well, you know, I was not the one who objected to age. Mr. Truman did that, and I did not agree with him. I happen to believe that we need young people, especially. After all, our country was founded and went through some very difficult times, guided and led by very young people: Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, James Monroe--Washington himself was not too old a man. And I think that when you look around the world, and realize how young people are coming in with the new nations, that youth does not come into it; the question of maturity does. And the question of experience. And I think that, as you put the two candidates together, ~~the~~ question of maturity and experience has shown up in the debates, which I think have been extremely valuable. For the

first time, all citizens have been able to see and hear their candidate.

Q: Bearing in mind how critically important you believe this particular election to be, do you think there's enough public interest being shown in the result?

A: I think there's a great deal of public interest. It's not perhaps noisy as yet, but I for the fact that, of the people that I've asked if they've listened to the debates, I have found only one taxicab man--and I live in taxicabs--laughter--who has not listened to the debates. And I ask people of all kinds--people in down in most Republican areas. They always

Q: What do you think the voters are going to vote on, the personalities, issues, or parties?

A: Well you know, it's always a mixture; it's never. . . . there's who You find that some people vote on personalities; you find some people who vote on parties--less and less, because more and more people occasionally changes for certain offices. So parties are not as important a fact as they used to be, though I still think they're very important. But I think issues are going to mean

a great deal in this campaign.

Q: More than the personalities, do you think?

A: Well, perhaps it'd be fifty-fifty; I don't know. But I think issues are going to
And perhaps I should put it this way, that issues and the way the candidates are handling them, are going to be the important thing. And that would include personalities.

Q: Do you think religion is going to come into it very much?

A: Well, on the surface, no. But underneath, of course, religion plays a very important part.

Q: Who do you think it favors?

A: I don't think it favors either one. I think it will be divided in its effects. I would hope, and I think that I'm right in saying that religion is playing less of a part, a great deal, than it did, for instance, in the outset of the campaign. The literature that I get, while it's horrifying in some ways, I nowhere near as offensive. The letters that I get, some of them are ---on both sides; this is not all on one side.
And so, I'm encouraged that we are beginning to

understand that when we put into our Constitution that no man should be asked what his race or religion was, we really meant all religions ; we didn't mean it for one religion. And I think it's rather hopeful.

Q: Why has that change come about in the last thirty-two years?

A: Oh, I think partly the better understanding, of what we really stood for when we founded this country. I think what people are afraid of, of course, is church organizations desiring special privileges. But you see, gradually they are learning that all church organizations to a lesser or a greater extent, in fact get do have special privileges. But the way they have to do it is through the passage of laws. So that if you have people watching the kinds of laws, both state and nation that are being passed, you're quite safe. a man elected to office, which really makes no difference, you have no right to ask the man. You ask him to go out and fight for his country; well, then he has a right to run for any office he wants, under the Constitution. But, you

do have to, as a good citizen, watch your laws. If you want to preserve the separation of church and state, you'd better do that, because church organizations do try to get special privileges through legislation.

Q: A last question, Mrs. Roosevelt. What difference, if any, would it make to us in Britain and Europe, if Kennedy were elected President?

A: Well, I think that probably you would find a better understanding of Europe, and a warmer desire to make much foresight in the way that is was, on a personal basis, between Winston Churchill and my husband. Now never reconstitute the same. But you can reconstitute an atmosphere of warmth, and understanding, and of confidence, if.....

Q: Why couldn't it be that way between a Republican President?

A: It could if he really wanted it. And if you find the people who could do it, and wanted to do it, too. But it's more difficult, without a personality.

Q: Thank you very much, Mrs. Roosevelt.

A: Thank you.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. PRESS CONFERENCE AT Chicago, Illinois 8/12/60

Q: Question not recorded on tape

A: Just on the Cuban questions? I should think that was a highly unwise debate, because you can't possibly know what the circumstances will be when either of them will be in office, and I can't see that anything definitive can be said on the subject.

Q: Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt.

SA Mrs. Roosevelt, when Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev stopped and had tea with you, what was discussed on the conversations?

A: It was a private conversation, and I said at the time that I would not report on it. But as a matter of fact, he talked economics of the Soviet Union.

Q: In comparison with the U.S.?

A: No.

Q: Just strictly . . .

A: Just his own statement of economics.

Q: Thank you.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I'm Betty Beck, and I'm

a Women's editor, so I want to ask a couple of questions about women. Do you think that women resent other women who run for office?

A: Why no, no, I don't think they do.

Q: And also, what should a woman say to women who say, "Politicians, 'that's a dirty word?'"

A: Oh, that's old-fashioned; no people say that any more. That's something which should have passed a long while ago.

Q: That's what I should tell them. All right.

Q: How close do you think things are now between Vice President Nixon and Senator Kennedy?

A: It looks to me as though Mr. Kennedy ^{was} is doing pretty well.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, you said before that you thought the Cuban situation would be an unwise choice for a fifth debate. What would you think would be more logical to talk about?

A: A general debate, which the last debate happened to be.

Q: Covering the home situation, and the . . .

A: Covering whatever comes up. And are they going to be along, or are they still going to have questions

from reporters? If it's a real debate, and it ranged over the issues of the campaign, I think it might have value.

Q: Thank you.

A: Mrs. Roosevelt, I'm from the Chicago Heights paper; my name is Jennison. I wanted to know if you think Kennedy will carry New York State, a very touchy state at this point.

A: I think he will carry New York State, yes.

Q: Okay. Fine. Thank you.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I'm from WJOB. I met you down in the South Pacific during

A: Did you? Where?

Q: . . . during '43 or '44. It was in the Hebrides, and around Guadalcanal. You're a world travelerwoman; you've travelled all over the states. I was just wondering, what would be our solution as American citizens, to get along with the world, leaving politics out. What can we do most? What did you find the people wanted most from Americans when you travelled abroad?

A: Well, basically of course, all people want the same

thing--peace. And they all hate; they all love; they all want food; they all want a better life than they've had before. So it's not really the basic things that interfere. I think it's more apt to be differences that come up in points of view, which are usually played up by governments. And I wish very much that we could all concentrate on learning to help each other, and I think we would very few difficulties, really, in living in peace.

Q: Amen.

A: Mrs. Roosevelt, another question. The recent General meeting which Nikita S. was quite a hullabaloo out there. And we were wondering, What do you think the future of the U.N. is?

A: Well, I think he strengthened the U.N. immensely. I have not been anywhere since, that everyone doesn't know about the U.N., and I used to go and try and tell them. Now everybody knows; it's done an enormous amount in this country to increase the knowledge of citizens of the U.N. He did try to destroy the U.N., and particularly Dag Hammarskjöld, because he isn't accustomed to being treaded like

to everybody else, and not getting his own way. And when both he and the United States had to move out of the Congo, he didn't like it much. And so, he behaved like a bad child. But never think that he doesn't do what he does with malice of forethought. He thinks out everything he does very carefully. And when Mr. Harold Macmillan was making probably the best speech that was made, he knew that Mr. Macmillan would get much of the front page, and he didn't like that idea. So he behaved worse than he had behaved any day that far. And he got at least half the front page, which was what he wanted.

Q: Your son was here, Franklin, Jr., last Sunday, and he mentioned that if your husband, or Harry Truman had been in the White House, that this, just what we talked about, Premier Khrushchev, would not have happened. Do you agree with that?

A: Well, I can't tell. I don't like to talk about things I don't really know. And I don't really know.

Q: Okay.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I'm from Rich Township High School, and I'd like to know what you feel about Vice President

Henry C. Lodge as a candidate, and how he's participated in the U.N. Do you think he's done an effective job?

A: Vice President Lodge?

the Republican

Q: Well, the man who is candidate for Vice President.

Laughter. Do you think he has done an effective job in the United Nations?

A: I think he's a brilliant man in some ways. But he unfortunately does not have the gift of making friends. And I think you would find it difficult to find a delegate from any other country who had any warmth of feeling towards him, because he does not have the gift of making friends.

Q: We have time for one more question, then I think we'll have to go on.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, in your estimation, if Senator Kennedy should be elected, will it help any minority groups in the United States?

A: Well, he's done more towards Civil Rights than anybody else has done in the Senate. He's shown in every way he possibly can that he believes in Civil Rights and that he intends to press for full citizenship

for all citizens. And I certainly would not work
for anybody that I didn't think was going to work
for that.

Q: ~~Q~~think that'll do it.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960E. R. PRESS CONFERENCE AT PITTSBURGH, NOVEMBER 2, 1960

Eleanor Roosevelt:

I think people on the whole must realize that we need some new and fresh thinking on economic situations. It's very important that they vote for the Democratic ticket.

Q: My question then will be, What is the most important election issue for the people of this district?

A: ~~Of~~ For the people of this district. . . .

Q: May I just ask that question again. Mrs. Roosevelt, what do you consider the most important election issue for the people of Pittsburgh and the Western Pennsylvania District?

A: Well, I would say that unemployment was extremely important today, and therefore that economic issues were very important. And I think that in response to your question, what we must realize here, [is] that you need some fresh thinking as to how you adjust to automation's coming. But no plans have apparently been made by the Republican Administration,

to meet these new . And it requires new industries, requires new training of workers, and I think, of course there are other things involved, which haven't even been spoken about too often. Nameley, that with new inventions which make it possible for us to have many of the things--because they would have the time--that only the rich could have in the past. They have to have education in order to enjoy it, and nobody has talked about this. Nobody has said that

must have education for leisure time. And I think that it's important that we realize that industry, labor, and the government have to cooperate to achieve the actual economic results that are needed. And then, some imaginative thinking must be done so that our ~~circumstances~~ ^{circumstances} will be improved by this, and not made less good by the mere fact that they have plenty of time and nothing to do with it.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, do you think that this issue is something that Franklin Delano Roosevelt would be giving serious consideration, if he were our Chief Executive today?

A: Well I don't like your question, because when you are meeting new circumstances, you have to meet them in new roles. But I'm quite sure, on principle, that my husband would have been deeply concerned with this issue.

Q: Now, ma'am, may I take one more small item of your time. Radio station KDKA is celebrating its 40th Anniversary today, commemorating the start of broadcasting. the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company you will be kind enough to extend congratulations to KDKA and to the broadcasting industry on its birth forty years ago.

A: I'm very happy to extend congratulations to KDKA and to the broadcasting industry, which is celebrating its fortieth anniversary. And I hope that they continue in increasing their service to the people of the country.

Q: Thank you very much. Good luck to you, ma'am; thanks so much. [Interruption]

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, do you feel that the issue of our standing in the world remains one of the vital questions of the campaign?

A: Yes, I think it's important, very important. But first was the
The pictures are years
from now, the people It could well
be, it has to be what really gives you standing
in the world. Because they know you're not just using word
words, but you're actually doing things.

Q: Do you feel that our position of performance is
lacking now?

A: Answer not discernible due to background noise

Q: It can be changed?

A: Of course it can be changed. It can be changed with
leadership from the White House. You see, a legis-
lative body. . . . ~~Now~~ matter of fact, when Lyndon
Johnson was established,
with the help of other Democratic members--very little
help from the Republican members-- and have
passed not satisfactory. Still, two bills
on Civil Rights. Now they're not satisfactory, and
they could have been better had we had Republican
cooperation,

what we needed to, but

couldn't be provided, was . But you
couldn't really provide real leadership outside of
the . The was . And
then,

the

Q: We have a good deal of unemployment in the Pittsburgh
area, as you well know. The people are concerned
about that. Do you think it can be rectified, with
proper administrative procedures?

A: Why, of course! We are should
have been watching very important at that time.
This thing we had done could have been shown through
automation. And, in the coal and steel industry, and
in the automobile industry, you have done really
Now, this requires cooperation between industry, labor,
and the government. You have to have new training
of workers; you have to have new industries started,
before you put in automation. You have to think
these things through . You
can't just behave as you did in the First Industrial
Revolution, when thousands of people up and

died, when the machines took their places . This you'd probably plan for today. And, it seems to me that we should

. And many implications haven't ever been mentioned. Nobody has been told that with automation, the mass of people will have the time for the first time to enjoy the things which only the rich could before. Now, with the improvements in our educational system for both the , we can have a great increase in the enjoyments of the arts. But you have to learn to appreciate, and who's going to tell them things about it, who's going to tell them to prepare for it? And I'm very happy to say that I find our Democratic candidate is open to new ideas! He seems to have thought about these things. He seems to realize that certain things, with the changes that come in the world, have to be met in a new way.

Q: Thank you very much, Mrs. Roosevelt. [interruption]

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, Senator Kennedy has been compared in many ways to your husband. Can you see any basis

for this comparison?

A: Well, I don't ever think, of course, that one person is exactly alike any other person, but I do think there is something which has struck me more and more as the campaign has progressed. He seems to be able to give the people a sense of identification with himself. Now, they tell me more of the I've been in the West. The crowds have been so big, when people have wanted to look at him, and touch him, and just to be near him. And, this of course is a gift, I believe, which means that a leader can call out the best in the people of the United States. And no leader can do much unless he can call on the people to really do their very best. And I think that's what Senator Kennedy seems to have been able to get over to the people, during this campaign. Now, I do have this But it seems to have grown enormously, and I think he's if elected on November 8th, we'll have very good leadership, and a communication between the people and their leader in the White House, which is fruitful for greatness.

Q: You have been an advocate, of course, in the past years, of Adlai Stevenson, and in pre-Convention days this year, you were identified in that way. Can you see a great difference in the way the Senator has conducted his campaign, compared to Mr. Stevenson's campaigns of '52 and '56?

A: Well, I think Mr. Stevenson, perhaps in was more highly intellectual. And possible, never . Mr. Stevenson's communication was complete. I have a great admiration for him, and I feel for him, that as far as foreign affairs goes, there is nobody who has a better understanding of what is needed in the world, and what the world is like. And that is why I for him, because I thought these were going to be the first questions that were coming up. But the Convention decided on Mr. Kennedy. And there is one thing that has come out so far, which I think is good. He has asked Mr. Stevenson to campaign for him; Mr. Stevenson has done so. He has asked him to do research for him, so that he would be able to give him a memorandum of what he felt were the most important foreign

issues. He asked Chester Bowles to do that for him. And this is the sign of a ~~big~~ man, because a little man never asks people he thinks knows more than he does on certain subjects to work for him.

Q: Thank you so very much, Mrs. Roosevelt.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I'm from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, the morning paper. In the pre-convention period, you indicated that Mr. Kennedy's nomination would result in the danger of the loss of the Negro vote.

A: As I explained, that I ^{always} found that the Negro leaders were not entirely Mr. Kennedy. The first

After that time the

had a meeting, which I think

Not discernible

And, he thought he would have some influence. I think perhaps he was right in that.

Q: Would you say ignorance or inadvertant?

A: I would say ignorance. He probably had an idea

and changed it again. He hadn't

learned yet, hadn't learned a thing.

Q: You think he has grown wiser since.

A: I think he's grown wiser, yes.

Q: No longer has that

A: No, I don't think he's apt to do that kind of thing again. He's shown his great empathy with the black. He's had the most remarkable time of it in

attended by four hundred delegates from forty-two states, more of them came from

. And, I'm very

, if he were to say that

Q: Would you care to identify that Southern governor a minute ago or so?

A: No.

Q: It was in the deep South?

A: Oh yes, yes. [Interruption]

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, are you going to campaign up to the bitter end of this. . . .

A: Well, I guess--I think so.

Q: That'd be 'till when, Monday?

A: I think Saturday is when that really

Q: Oh, yes.

Q: The question was asked you a little while ago, the comparison between FDR and Mr. Kennedy, and you in-

indicated that Mr. Kennedy is showing the signs of the magnetism that Roosevelt. . . .

A: I didn't say the magnetism. I said, the ability to give people a sense of identification and participation in the job that has to be done. And this is a very ~~powerful~~ thing to achieve.

Q: One more question, rather privelege, I mean, have you lost any of your zest for campaigning?

A: Well, I'm getting older, and I don't think I like the many things that you have to do in the day, as much as I used to. I didn't used to feel it at all.

Q: You don't look as if you feel them at all now, or act that way.

A: Well, I'm not quite as good as I used to be, at doing many things.

Q: Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, how important at this point, do you feel the religious issue has become in this campaign?

A: Well, one never can tell, because that's something that I think, of course, that people have been confused. Now, there's a great

what would happen on Reformation Sunday. I don't
happens,
think anything, really, except that there are more
sects to join than there should be, as a result.
But, there was a division in the Protestant liturgies,
some preach sermon, others do not.

I feel very strongly that this country was
founded on religious freedom. And if you look back,
Protestants, Roman Catholics, Jews, Quakers, every
kind of denomination came here for religious freedom,
and we said that we were going to have religious
freedom. And it was for all the religions, not for
any one. And I think, to send our young men into a
war, and not ask them what religion or what race they
belong to, and have them die for the country, and
to public office of any kind, then
certainly, you ought to

And I think the confusing
framework, what we really are afraid
of, is a thing that happens with every church organi-
zation. All church organization try at times to get
special privileges. And the way they do it is through
legislation, either local, or state, or national.

Now if you really want to preserve the separation between church and state, you have organizations to watch legislation, and you as a citizen have the courage to stand up and say what you think is good or bad. But this is quite different from refusing to allow a candidate for public office because of his religion. So I think we've got to clarify our thinking, and know what we're really afraid, and also not allow ourselves to do what is against our Constitution. And our Constitution said we would never ask any candidate for public office his race or religion.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH AT Indiana 10/27/60

Presiding, _____:

As you will find in your program, I profess to make no political speeches at this moment. I have scheduled four discussions of good government this afternoon, and you're all welcome to them. But, at this point I have a rare privilege and honor to present to you our distinguished guest this afternoon. I am sure that every man who has had the honor that is mine today, has felt quite inadequate. Indeed, one feels the inadequacy of the English language at this moment. And I suppose this task really requires a man with the command of the language, such as Winston Churchill. I am here to introduce the most famous, and the most greatly beloved woman in the world. [Applause] For millions of people throughout the world, she is the living symbol of mankind's eternal fight against poverty, intolerance, and ignorance. For more than fifty years, she has fought the good fight, the hard fight, the clean fight for the decent, the

honorable, and the just for every human being, regardless of the color of his skin, the country of his national origin, or the church in which he worships. In the years of her service to the Democratic party, to the United States of America, and in the United Nations, she has greatly enhanced the noble name she bears. We are indeed honored that she is with us today. I bid you mark well what she says, for she comes here in the fulness of her years, a wise woman, a statesman in her own right. As Senator Kennedy recently said on her seventy-sixth birthday, "if there were a birthday candle on Mrs. Roosevelt's cake for every human being she has helped, it would be a blaze that would light Democracy throughout the world." Ladies and Gentlemen, may I present to you, the First Lady of the world, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. [Applause]

Eleanor Roosevelt:

Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen.

that I would like is, by answering a question which was put to me this morning in my press conference. The questioner says, "You were for Adlai Stevenson

before the Convention. Do you think that Mr. Kennedy is old enough to meet the problems before us?" I would like to say that of course I was for Adlai Stevenson. I thought that he had more experience, and had tried harder to prepare himself for the questions that I felt were coming up for decision in the foreign field. And I thought that a ticket with Adlai Stevenson and John F. Kennedy would be the best ticket we could have. But the Convention decided otherwise. And I watched with care our candidate, Mr. Kennedy, and I do not feel like I never did say that I thought youth was I have felt for a long time that we needed youth and dignity. And I watched him grow with his sense of responsibility. This is a mature man. But he has the enthusiasm and the drive of youth and vigor. Now, you have a candidate, here, for governor, who is young, too. And he has the drive which youth and vigor give.

[Applause] And I think you will find that you need Mr. [Mathew E.] Welch as your governor, just as the country needs John F. Kennedy [Applause].

is the fact that here is a man who is not afraid to use people who are experts, to use people who perhaps know more than he does, or might know more, along certain lines. You know, little people are always afraid to use people that they think will dwarf them. But when you find a man who will use all that he can find in the way of good advice, and experience, then you have really got a man that will profit by everything that he can find that he needs to help him do a really good job. [Applause]

And I was very interested, in the very first talk I had with Senator Kennedy, to find that he had already, at that early date, asked Mr. Stevenson to do some research for him, and write him a memorandum which should be prepared in case of his election, discussing first steps in foreign affairs. You don't do that if you're a little man. You have to be a big man to really want the help of big people. And so, I have great confidence, and I am very happy that we are going to be led in many areas of our country, but particularly in the top faces in many areas, by people of youth and vigor, and people

of confiction. You have passed, some years ago, under Republican leadership, "right-to-work" laws. That is a misnomer. I think you know that Senator Herbert H. Lehman and I joined in a committee to fight that in many areas. And we tried to make it clear, what this law really does has no real validity. Because the "right to work" law simply downgrades right-to-work positions. And I'm glad that you have a governor who I hope will lead in trying to repeal a law which I think hurts the workers of our states. [Applause]

We're coming into a difficult economic period. Not many people have thought about it, but you in the states where you have steel, and where you have automobile industries, must have already sensed what automation and is going to ring a need, and you're going to need people with flexible minds who are ready to try new things, to plan, to see that people do not suffer. It ought to be of great value to mankind. It ought to be, that masses of people, because of leisure time, would have the opportunity to enjoy what only the rich could enjoy in the past. But this will mean a vision, and an

understanding which I have not seen expressed, so far, by many people. It will mean that not only will the government have to sympathetically work with industry and labor to adjust the difficulties of planning and foresight and new industries and new training. But it will also mean that the use of the leisure time that is brought about will have to be planned for by adult education, by changes in education in our schools, and possibly one thing that few people think about. The more mechanized we become, the more it takes a very good man to very complicated watch a machine; nevertheless, the more you take away from a human being the one thing that is an instinct in most of us, the love of creation, of having created something that you did yourself, from beginning to end. And this will have to be fulfilled, perhaps, by the enormous increase of both appreciation and ability to use the products. Perhaps the man will make forty tables in an hour. And perhaps he will make one table over several months. But if he loves it, if it gives him the joy of having created something, it will

make all the difference in the use of his leisure time and the joy of his life. Now, these are problems which come with the whole problem of automation. People haven't thought about it a great deal, but it's coming in the next few years. And I think it will take youth, and flexibility, and imagination, and originality, and a willingness to experiment, to meet these new things.

My husband came to crisis in a period of crisis economically. Mr. Kennedy will come to office in a period where I think probably we are nearer to a crisis in our foreign affairs, because we've made few decisions in the past few years. We have tried to avoid doing anything decisive. When a crisis came, we met it as best we could, and sometimes rather badly. But we tried to avoid decisions. You can't avoid decisions forever. At some point they have to be made. And I think this a point where I would like to thank you, because it affects our world leadership, of the non-Communist world.

The heads of the tickets in this campaign have said that they would rule out the religious issue.

But all of you know that it has nevertheless been brought in, in many, many ways. And I think we fail to note that it has a tremendous impact, as the rest of the world watches our campaign, on what they are going to feel about some of the things to which we in our country have always given lip service. And they're going to wonder if this was only lip service, or if we really believed in our Constitution. This country was founded on religious freedom. People came here--Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Quakers, all kinds of religions--and they came for religious freedom. [Applause] And when we put in our Constitution that no man should be asked his race or religion, our forefathers meant it. Yesterday, I went to a presentation, or a commemoration--I don't know just what--of a very remarkable letter that I didn't even know existed, written by George Washington to the little synagogue, the first synagogue in this country, at Truro, in Newport, Rhode Island. It's a remarkable letter. He says that we, in our Constitution, have written in provisions which will prevent bigotry, ever, in this country. I only

wish that this were entirely true. But I get over my desk some literature which actually makes me squirm, with discomfort, that any group of people who really live under our Constitution, can feel and express in some of this literature, is simply outrageous. I think, too, that it's because most of our people don't understand the real thing that they're afraid of. It's perfectly obvious to me that you cannot deny to any citizen whom you ask to die for you in a war, you can't deny that he can be the aspirant for public service in any other

But, the thing that really people are afraid of, is the possibility that religious organizations--now, this all religious organizations--wanting some special privileges, will try to pass state or national laws which will give them these privileges. Now, we have plenty of organizations that watch for such legislation. If we are good and alert citizens, we can fight any law that we think really hurts the division of church and state. But this is nothing that we want to watch for one church organization only. We want to watch it for all church organizations.

[Applause] This is a part of the problem; people have not separated in their minds what they are really afraid of. And they'd better get it straight, because it's unthinkable that we deny to any citizen of the United States the right to run for public office because of his religion. [Applause] And I say this because the whole world watched what happens in this country. And if we go back on what they learned is in our Declaration of Independence or our Constitution, it sets us back in the great overall struggle between Communism and Democracy in the world. And this is very important. We here are painting a picture of what Democracy can mean to people. Can we give people a better material
1 life, and still give them something more--an idea, an idea, a dream? This is the problem. This is the real thing we have to prove. We have to prove it at home, because here is where they watch, for everything we do. And what we say anywhere in the world, will have very little effect, unless it's borne out by what they see here. We have great opportunity for leadership in the United Nations. We have great

opportunity to work with the United Nations, and gain enormous real warmth and affection for our country. You just watched, I hope, a great deal of the United Nations session which is now going on, where we've had more Heads of state than we've ever had before, and where Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev, because he had not been allowed to have his own way in the Congo, insisted that we control the Secretary General--and he tried--and the United Nations. And he tried to destroy the United Nations and the Secretary General. And he lost, in votes, in the very votes of the new African states. They were against him, and yet he was trying to. . . . Now, he was boorish, he did many things that did him harm. But there was one thing that some of the reporters told me, that I wanted to bring home to everybody in this country. They said, in spite of everything he did, he spoke with such conviction about his beliefs, and with such drive and vigor and force, that he left a feeling of weakness where the West was concerned. Because there was no voice raised for us that had that same conviction and inspiration. Mr. Harold Macmillan

made a very fine speech, which Mr. Khrushchev sensed was a vital speech, understood it, and behaved worse than he had ever behaved before, simply because he didn't want it to get all the front-page news. And he managed to keep half of it for himself [Laughter] And you don't want to write him off; he's a very clever man. And he did exactly what he intended to do. But even Mr. Macmillan, with his British understatement and his calm, did not give those new states what we really need to give, which is some spokesman for Democracy that can speak with the same force and conviction and inspiration, and believes that we are the wave of the future, not Communism. Now this is the overall problems of our foreign affairs, and it's being fought in great part in the United Nations. And it has a very vital meaning for everyone of us as citizens. This is our battle. Do we believe strongly enough? Do we want strong leadership? Do we want imagination? Do we want a strong Voice? I think we do. And if we do, I think you will elect your candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket, Mr. Welch [Applause], and that also you

will elect the whole Democratic ticket to uphold
whoever and I think it will be
Mr. Kennedy, to the White House. [Applause] I
think he will need the help of every Congressman
that you can possibly give him. He will need in
every state an organization that will back him.
And so I ask you, on election day, to think of the
country, when you cast your vote. And remember
that this country typifies for the whole world
the meaning of Democracy. [Applause]

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. PANEL INTERVIEW, *The Open Question*, WTAMJ,
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Announcer:

"The Open Question": we bring you at this time a special public service program featuring a distinguished citizen of the world, a woman who has rendered great service to her country and her fellow man, one of the leaders of the Democratic Party, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Please remember that the questions asked on this program do not necessarily represent the opinions of the panel members, but serve as a means of bring^{ing} out facts and information. Now, here is the moderator of the program, Mr. Thomas Tuttle, Milwaukee Journal. Mr. Tuttle.

Q: Hello, Ladies and Gentlemen. Our Guest today is Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt, welcome to "The Open Question".

A: Thank you very much.

Q: Here to interview her are Mr. James Brooks, a member of the United Press International news service in Milwaukee, Miss Ellen Gibson, a member of the staff

of the Milwaukee Journal, and Mr. Arthur Olzig,^{at 130}
assistant news editor of WTMJ, and WTMJ-TV. The
other day, a friend of mine said to me, "I see that
Eleanor Roosevelt is going to be on "The Open Question"
this weekend." And then he continued, "You know, I've
the
voted straight Republican ticket all of my life, but
she is one of the finest women this country has ever
had. I think I'd even vote for her."

" I think this little episode accomplishes all
that I could hope to in this introduction. Besides,
were I to attempt to recount everything, ^{that} this woman
has done, before and after the death of her husband,
Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in 1945, there wouldn't
be much time left for questions. Eleanor Roosevelt
is literally a woman of the world in the finest sense
of that term. And with that, I'll ask Art Olzig to
start the questions. Mr. Olzig.

Q: With all your accomplishments, I think perhaps most
people do tend, in this country at least, to associate
you with politics, and most particularly with Demo-
cratic politics. What I wanted to ask you is this:
Democrats as a tradition have always been very proud

of the fact that they fight just as hard among themselves before the Convention as they do against the Republicans afterwards. However, in this particular campaign, some of the pre-Convention fighting brought up criticisms of Senator Kennedy that turned into a great issue that was raised and used by the Republicans later on, such as his maturity, which you at one time brought up. Don't you think perhaps some of this goes too far before the Convention, gives too much ammunition to the GOP Grand Old Party?

- A: Well, that was my objection to the primary campaign, ~~Presidential primary~~ because I felt we exhausted our candidates, and we did hand the Republicans all the ammunition which they could later use. But actually, as far as the problems which Senator Kennedy presents, what I Convention, was tinged with the feeling that our most important decisions would have to be in the area of foreign affairs, and that perhaps the best ticket we could have would be Adlai Stevenson at the head, and John Kennedy for Vice President. I never complained about his youth; I happen to rather think that's an asset! But I did

feel that we going to have a hard time, and it would be necessary

throughout the day. Now I find, after watching very carefully through the campaign, that this is something which impresses me, and makes me respect our candidate. He uses people who know perhaps more than he does, and he's not afraid to do that. That's a sign of being a big person. So that I have gained in respect for him, and in confidence that this is going to be good for

Q: Miss Gibson.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, many observers have said that, in his ability to arouse enthusiasm among his followers and other people, Senator Kennedy bears ^{some} ~~strong~~ similarity to your husband, and many observers have compared his campaign to the early campaigns of President Roosevelt. Do you see any such similarities?

A: Well, I have been interested in the way he has always spoken and referred to my husband's campaigns. I think he must have studied them rather carefully, because-- when he came to see me that I gave him

a new album of my husband's recorded speeches. And he took them away with joy; he said, "I should certainly listen to these!" I imagine that it's not any real

change conditions are very different. But I imagine it is a real increase, ^{and} in the sense of confidence in being able to do something. And that is.

Q: Mr. Brooks.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, throughout your years in the White House, and before that time, and in a sense, I know you've always been very interested in Civil Rights. And one thing I have been wondering, if you would care to comment on Mr. Nixon's statement that the Republican Administration in the last eight years has done more in the field of Civil Rights than any other Administration since the Civil War.

A: Well, they have had an opportunity to do more, because they've had the Supreme Court decision. I can't say how definitive. For instance, conditions on government contracts, on non-discrimination ⁱⁿ government contracts--this is, it seems to me, may have done more than most

of us have been able to see. My grandson, who is a Republican, has worked on it in a few places

a number of things. Only, I do not think that where we needed real leadership, which was after the Supreme Court decision was handed down, that we had real leadership. I think that we could be much better off with a President of the United States who really has the obligation to lead, a moral
 . I brought it home almost immediately and said, "I believe

Q: Mr. Olson.

Q: You told us before we went on the air that you had been lecturing and campaigning, and a rather arduous combination of both. In your observations on this trip that you are making, what emerges to you as the biggest issue so far as the people respond to the ^{candidates} Kennedy?

A: Well, as far as I can tell, which I do not consider appropriate

I would say that Mr. Kennedy has given the people a feeling that he can They want to

touch him, the... 10

And I think that if you can do that, then perhaps you can get almost all of the people, in a time of crisis, and I think that we may be able to get the call to the people's greatness through to them. And this is something which is important, because no man can meet the problems of today by himself. He's got to have the people working with him. And that's always been so. When we've had a crisis, it's been met by the fact that there was a leader who could call upon the greatness of the people. And I think perhaps that's what they see with us.

any single issue?

Q:

A: I think

any single issue.

Q: Miss Gibson.

Q: In that connection, there is some thought that the peace issue is predominant in many areas of the country. And, how do you answer the Republican charge that the Democratic Party was in power, and perhaps responsible--or at least the implication of responsibility is there--and we've had three wars in this century.

It seems to me a charge that's made from empirical fact.

A: Well, there's no people anywhere in the world that doesn't want peace, because they don't quite

? If they don't have peace today, with the power of

? destruction that we have - primarily with the

So I don't think there's any point at all.

The other day, I happened to have Marshal Tito

looked ¹ at ² and said, "The peoples of the world could make peace; it's you governments that don't make peace!" ~~So~~ ^{for} a moment he looked startled, and then he began to laugh, because of course it's true; they do ¹ to a very great extent. But I think the answer is, these wars, which sometimes had to be conducted in Democratic periods of administration. But wars don't begin at the moment when they break out. Wars ² begin very much ~~earlier~~ ^{out} of the history that has been built up beforehand. And just exactly, ^{Eisenhower said he would bring} it as ~~ultimately~~ (peace in Korea, hasn't yet completely arrived, but still, it was coming anyway,

to the extent of the economy. And, whether there had been a Republican or whether there had been a Democrat, it would have been the same, and as some people have stated, that clearly a part of the historical significance

forsee what are the things that in the world as a whole, and trying to forestall certain things, rather than to let them come to the crisis, and then have to meet the crisis in one way or another.

Q: Mr. Brooks.

Q: On this same subject of peace, Mrs. Roosevelt, yesterday it was announced that we are landing fifteen hundred Marines today at Guantanamo, our base in Cuba. Now, do you think that this, considering our already strained relations with the Cuban government, is going to in any way contribute to a betterment of the feeling that we enjoy with these people?

A: Well, I don't think this is exactly the way to make them feel more secure. They're frightened anyway, and I'm sure that using atomic weapons, which the Soviets would not use. They're not very convinced;

they have to get used

. And so, I really don't think that
this is going to have

Q: Would you think that
situation of diplomacy, or have we been
rather heavy handed on it?

A: I think we've been very heavy handed.

Q: For those of you who may have tuned in late, our
guest today is Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; we are dis-
cussing a wide range of subjects. Mr. Olzig.

Q: Getting on to another phase of your career, in the
U.N., certainly as a delegate yourself at one time,
you must have seen in its new embryonic stages the
development of the African situation that we see
today. Is it developing fairly much along the lines
that you foresaw in those days, Mrs. Roosevelt?

A: Well, of course it has come much more rapidly than
anything because when the United
Nations came into being it was largely European,
South American, and American. Now, the sweep for
freedom that took place
has brought us very many new African states, very

rapidly.

Because these states had won their freedom. It was quite a different governments.

Certain governments, it was very complicated thing, and they are not really

colonial powers do not as a rule educate people, under them, with great care. And the result is, that in many of these countries, the level of ~~education~~, of illiteracy, is very great. And therefore, there will be great difficulties for these people. And with the United Nations, which already has² and through UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

And, with the aid that can be given by countries through the United Nations. Naturally, these countries are very nervous, about their dignity, about their equality, but also very nervous, having freed themselves of political control, about economic² control. So they'd much rather to receive help from the United Nations, or through the United Nations. And I am very hopeful that we will realize this,

and that we will give all the help we can. Because these nations are going to need a great deal of help,

Q: Miss Gibson.

Q: I believe it's correct that in the General Assembly, in the U.N., each nation has one vote regardless of the size of the country. There seems to be some concern in this country, now, that the time is approaching when the United States will be outvoted by these new, small countries. Do you think it's time to consider a Charter revision, toward proportional representation in at least one body, or one branch of the U.N.?

A: Well, of course, it is possible at any time for members to ask for a meeting for charter revision. We have, in the American Association for the United Nations, a faith in the organization of peace. And for several years, we have been publishing collections of studies on the different points that might be considered in revision of the Charter, and this is fine. But as a matter of fact, I have never been afraid that the United States would lose its leadership in

the United Nations if it really had the qualities, in its leadership as representative, which would give the feeling that we were not thinking only of interests, our own. All countries do this but that we were thinking also of the world, in context to world problems, and that we were thinking of the different countries' concepts, so they would not have the feeling that they were not being, that they were not being. Their problems are very, just as our problems we remember. And we can give a sense of sympathetic understanding.

Q: Mr. Brooks.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, several days ago the Republican Vice Presidential candidate, Henry Cabot Lodge, said that you knew more than the United States Information Agency does, when it comes to judging the prestige of the United States abroad, but he based this judgment of his, that our prestige was very good, according to him, upon his own service in the United Nations.

Now, you served in the United Nations for several years as a member of our delegation. Have you seen, over the years, any decline in our prestige?

A: Well, I served for six years, from the very beginning, until January, '52, when we had an extra session

And I served under a very fine Republican

And he had a very remarkable [?] ~~view~~. He was a great internationalist, and he was a ~~first~~.

And he

So he was taken ill

And they all paid him one of the highest tributes

I think a man

and absolutely

"We didn't ¹¹⁵ always agree with the United States, but if Ambassador

And there was a warmth in their real concern, which makes you realize that this man had many friends, had really made friends with all these [?] and with their delegates. I have felt that as for

He has the capacity of being , but I do not think

Q: Miss Gibson.

Q: I would like to know what Mrs. Roosevelt thinks of the joint television appearances of the two candidates in this campaign. I understand they're being shown in many parts of the world, and they have had a wonderful impact on the campaign. Have you any opinion on the value of

A: Oh, I think it was a milestone in television usage. I think it was the first time that millions of our people--in democratic countries, this is extremely important--millions of our people could see their candidates, and could hear their views, straight from their lips, eyes. I think it's a very good thing. I would rather have had it a straight debate between the two men. I think the questions from the press people were really , rather than, If the two men had really argued with each other, it would have been better.

? But nevertheless, I think it was of tremendous importance.
influence on
Democracy

Q: Mr. Olzig.

Q: There's a practical politician , Mrs. Roosevelt,
that
and you have been through the years, I think.

It has always been an axiom that the incumbent should
not appear on the same platform with his challenger.

Do you think that those days, at least in the Presidential
respect, are over with now?

A: Well, I think, as far these debates go, it was. . . .

And I think it will be, a series of debates will be
a value. And I know that it's

better sometimes not even to mention your adversary.

But I think if you can have face-to-face debates,
that it can in bringing to the people
a sense of participation and

Q: Mr. Brooks.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, one more question of the great debate
series. Do you think that if we had had similar
debates in 1952 and 1956 that there might have been
a different outcome to the Presidential elections
in those years?

A: Well, I doubt that, because President Eisenhower was
general
a very great gentleman and a great debater, and I

doubt that the outcome would have changed. The
that they have
feeling of gratitude to him.

Q: Miss Gibson.

Q: What do you think, Mrs. Roosevelt, of Mr. Nixon's
recent proposal that, if elected, he will visit the
Communist satellite countries? He said he would
bring them a message of freedom.

A: Well, he'll have to be invited.

Q: Do you think he could be invited, or would he be invited?

A: I should not have promised them beforehand that he
was going to bring them the message of freedom. I
would rather doubt that he would get many invitations.

Q: Mr. Olzig.

Q: I was wondering if I could return with you to something
you said before about Mr. Lodge at the U.N., so you
would perhaps clarify what you meant. Do you mean
that he has perhaps been firm enough but sometimes
too tough, as has often been said, or do you feel
his personality is perhaps not what Senator Austin's
was? What is your precise view?

A: I think that Senator Lodge is a brilliant man. I
think he has made quite marvelous speeches. I think

he has taken the positions that he was supposed to take, and then done well with those positions. I think however that part of one's representation to the United Nations is to build friendship with the individual delegations, with the individual delegates. Now, I do not think you will find that among the . . . I didn't mean this among the Europeans; I'm talking about the representation. I think you will find there are rather a relatively few of the delegates who feel they've had any close contact with Ambassador Lodge.

Q: It's a matter of approach, then. I see.

A: It's a matter of approach; it's a matter of personality.

Q: Mr. Brooks.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I think during the Presidential campaign, there has been a serious effort on the part of both candidates to keep religion from becoming an issue in the campaign, but nonetheless it seems to be an issue. And I was wondering if you could tell us what effect you think this issue will have internally, on the election, and externally, on our relations with other nations.

A: Well, I think the other nations watch to see whether we really meant what we said in our Constitution, that this was to be a country based on religious freedom. And that doesn't mean religious freedom for one religion. It means religious freedom for all religions. Now, I think our people are afraid of something, and don't quite make the difference and understand what they really have to watch. It's church organizations that try for special privileges through legislation, that you have to watch. You can do that through organizations; you can do that as an individual, if you're an alert citizen. And you can fight against anything you think encroaches on our separation of church and state. But to say that, in spite of our Constitution, which says you shall not ask a man what his race or religion is, that we will ask our men to go to war and die for their country, and not question as to whether they're of this race or that race or this religion or that religion, and that they cannot run for public office. I think any of our people who think that through will reject it, because that is against the whole idea

that America was founded on.

Q: Miss Gibson.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, how do you think the election will turn out?

A: Oh, I think it will be a Democratic victory!

Q: Are there signs that make you think so?

A: Yes, I felt this groundswell building up now, in my state of New York, and in various other places that I think

But of course, we're still some distance from election, and I never am sure until the votes are counted.

Q: Mr. Olzig.

Q: You feel that it is won, but there's time enough to lose it, is that the way you feel?

A: I think that we will win, but we have much more to do. And whether there can be something ~~left out~~ in the last few weeks, which might

This is something nobody
can [And I've always been. . .]

My husband used to say I'm a terrible pessimist, and never will believe until you've counted the votes that you really win. You see. . .

Q: Anybody's guess, then.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, so much . . .

Q: I'm sorry, our time is up. I wish we could continue, Mrs. Roosevelt, but we have to go. Thank you very much for being with us on "The Open Question." It's very interesting, indeed.

A: Thank you. I'm very glad to be here.

Q: I'd also like to thank Mr. James Brooks, a member on the United Press International New Service staff in Milwaukee, Miss Ellen Gibson, a member of the staff of the Milwaukee Journal, and Mr. Arthur Olzig, assistant news editor of WTMJ, WTMJ-TV. To all of you, thank you for being with us today, and I hope you will be with us regularly. Good by.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. PRESS CONFERENCE AT WILLOW GROVE, PENNA.,

Q: [Question not recorded on tape]

A: . . . the information. The President has more information than almost any other head of state. But, in the end he has to make the decision. And so, really the ability to cover background^{history,} and to use your knowledge, is a very , because decisions. And then I think one of the very important things, is that whoever is President care about , because much that needs to be done, both in our own country, and in the other countries of the world, affects the ~~lives,~~ the everyday lives of people. And for that reason, a President really should be able to understand what the people are thinking.

Q: I am asking, Mrs. Roosevelt, in all sincerity and respect, do you think that the Democratic candidate is a little young, or do you think he's . . .

A: No, I have never been afraid of youth. I never suggested that he was a little young. I think years

do not mean maturity. And he seems to me to have maturity. And I thought, when I went to the Convention, that our very best ticket would have been Stevenson and Kennedy. But since Kennedy was nominated, I've watched him very carefully, and listened to all the debates, and listened to many speeches, and talked to him. And I have great respect for him, and have the belief that he has the genuine desire to be a good public servant.

Q: I must say that we've noticed--we ^{saw} ~~followed~~ Senator Kennedy last night at the dinner, and last week we saw Nixon. I must saw that campaigning is certainly tiring. Do you have that feeling too?

A: Well, I've been through a good many campaigns. I don't think I've ever been through a campaign when I haven't been tired.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, it seems during the last decades, there has been a decline in what I think of as being real liberalism in the United States. At least,

for Eisenhower, and

and the Republican ^{would} they've replaced it by what they call moderate Republicanism

or progressive conservatism. But I think it's a little different from the liberalism that we've had during the period when your husband was President; there's a different philosophy, I think. Do you think this philosophy is on the way back, and that we will have this kind of philosophy in our country, in the government now?

A: Well, I don't really know exactly what you mean. But I would say that what has animated public service in my husband's time was a real desire to solve problems, and to achieve a better life for people. And I would say that that was very much the same thing that was facing Mr. Kennedy, and that he was anxious to. . . And you never have the same problems; you never can solve them in the same way. But the spirit is there.

Q: I've often heard of this terrific urge of people simply to touch Kennedy, this terrific push they have

Do you have a comment on that?

A: No, I suppose that is only
And if you mean to have confidence in
you like to be able to touch him. And if he has been
able to give to people that sense of confidence, well

then that's what it means.

Q: Do you propose that it's a general youth that gives people that urge to just, as Rosie said, grab hold of him . . .

A: No, as far as I have seen, it's the old people as well as the young people. Not peculiar to the young!

[Laughter]

Q: Any more questions?

Q: Anything else?

Q: I sort of heard it spoken of this morning a difference in the campaign, the Nixon people said, is that the Republicans are really going to come out they've been using the religious issue and everything this last week . . .

A: Well, in the last week of any campaign, usually, the losing side will try almost anything. And, if the Republicans are on the losing side, they will probably think up something. And it doesn't usually work. I can remember in my husband's campaign, one all the people in the office were worried to death, because word came over that a certain very large manufacturing plant was putting into all its pay

envelopes, "If you vote for Roosevelt, you will lose your job the day after election." And this was in every pay envelope. And in that area, everybody voted for Roosevelt! [Laughter] It was not very successful.

Q: In other words, the American people just don't like to be told what to do; they can make up their own minds.

A: I think

a nonpartisan lecture

And the Republicans came in three days beforehand, advised the group, which was a teachers' group--it was a state teachers' convention--and advised them to boycott my meeting. And the place held nine thousand people seated, and there 10,500 people there. [Laughter]

Q: Two thousand outside.

A: And it was nonpartisan completely; I never said a word about a candidate. [Laughter]

Q: How do you think the election looks for Mr. Kennedy?

A: Oh, very good. I think that things are going well. But I'm a pessimist; I'm never sure of the votes until

they are counted on election day. [Interruption]

Q: Hi there, this is Lois Trofter of the WNAR Special Events Department. We're visiting today at Willow Grove Park, and with me is a most distinguished person, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Also, Miss Kitty Byrne, who is in charge of this event. Kitty, it's nice to see you.

Q: Thank you,

Q: And if I may, I'd like chat with Mrs. Roosevelt for a moment. We've been hearing the questions that other members of the press have been asking you. One, if I just may ask one question briefly. You went on the campaign with your husband, right?

A: Oh yes.

Q: Could you tell me, what is the difference in campaigning then, and, in your opinion, now?

A: Oh, it's very different. There was, of course, no then such thing as television and debates. Then, I think in my judgment,:

because so many people, who can see and hear really their candidates, and know what they think on

and where they never could in any other time. This, of course, we didn't have

Q: Do you think a reason that everyone is so interested in the election, because of our far better ideas of communication, with the plane, and TV now?

A: Well, I think that's one reason. But I also find that they realize that there's not

are experts on

what conditions are

Q: Thank you very much, Mrs. Roosevelt. It's a great pleasure interviewing you.

A: Thank you.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH AT WILLOW GROVE, PENNA.,

Speech at a Kennedy for President Rally, the Amusement Grounds

Presiding, _____:

like
[Applause] I'd like to present just a few workers, Robert
Sheldon, the background assistant for Kennedy in
Montgomery County, your host [Interruption]/[Applause]

Eleanor Roosevelt:

Ladies and Gentlemen. I want to thank our host today, and I also want to say that I do feel at home in a Republican county, because I live in one, but we also are making considerable strides. And so, we have hopes for the future too.

I think I should begin by telling you what many of you may already know, that before the Convention, I wanted very much, because I felt that the most difficult decisions before us in the next few years would be in the field of foreign affairs, I was anxious to have a ticket with Adlai Stevenson at the head of it, and John F. Kennedy as Vice President. But after Kennedy was nominated, I watched with great care. I talked with him; I watched every debate;

I listened to many speeches. And I have come to have great respect for qualities that I think are important in the next President of the United States. He has not been afraid to use people who had perhaps greater experience, might have more knowledge in certain fields than he had. Now, a little man would rarely use people that are really supposed to be better than he is in certain fields. He would always be afraid that they would overshadow him. So it is the sign of a big man to be willing to consult with and to use people who really have made studies in their particular fields. And Adlai Stevenson has been campaigning in fourteen states, working as hard as if he himself was a candidate. And he was asked by Senator Kennedy if he would prepare a memorandum on the foreign affairs situation and the immediate threats that he saw. And he will have _____ if the Senator is elected on November 8th. _____

Now, I think this shows foresight, a willingness to prepare, and a willingness to face situations as they are. And I am very grateful that we have a young candidate, with vigor and energy, and who cares

about people. ⁹ Now, a great many people started out by saying very derogatory things about the youth of the Democratic candidate. It's only a few years difference between the two candidates. But, inexperience was one of the things, and it was cited to me very often, that one had been trained under the President, for the Presidency, and had had the opportunity of going around the world to represent the President. But I want to tell you that, as far as experience goes, actually, being Vice President, even if you sit in on the the Cabinet, does not mean that you have the experience of making the decisions. There is nobody but the President who can make the final decisions. And I would question whether you have a great deal of opportunity to learn about how policy is made. And I'd also question whether the kind of trips you take around the world as representing the President, gives you much opportunity to know much about the land or the countries which you visit. You're surrounded all the time with care, because security must be [?] You see nothing but the officials, and actually, it does not give you very

much knowledge about the world as it really is. So I don't take it very seriously, this question of how much experience, preparation was given to one candidate, but not to another. I feel that service in the Senate on the Foreign Relations Committee

that has given the broad view, is very important. And I feel that the sense that Senator Kennedy gives to us of real integrity, of really trying to tell you what he thinks. I was struck by that in the states. I felt that he was making a real effort to tell us what he thought the world was like. And, while no candidate can spell out just what he's going to do, because, in the first place, it lays you open to being torn to pieces by the opposition. But, in the second place, you're very foolish to try to decide when you are not actually in possession of all the facts, of facing the circumstances as they really are. If you try then to lay out your decisions, you're doing a dangerous thing, because you will undoubtedly have to change. And it is wise to try and give people a picture of the trend of your thinking. And I think you get the

feeling that this man is a man who knows history, who has the feeling for history which makes you study it with the idea which will help you to know the present, and understand it better. And this is valuable, because that is the way you want to. This is an intelligent man; this is a man who carefully goes about choosing his advisors, who reads for himself an enormous amount. That is enviable. In many cases I know, few people really read themselves. And I am quite convinced that if he comes to office, we will have somebody who is flexible, somebody who is willing to try new ideas, but also who has the courage, if he thinks something doesn't work, to say so. And this is also important, because we're going to have extremely difficult decisions in areas which are new, and which we do not know much about.

At home, I think it's quite commendable that most of us in almost every community I've visited, are concerned first social security improved. I think it was a very central suggestion that the bill be passed, which would include,

under social security, medical care for the aged. Because this is not important only to the aged; this is important to young families. Young families, just at the time that they have their young children, are subjugated to the fact that the older members of the family do not have sufficient in their social security to pay for medical care. And it falls as a burden on the young. So this is a thing that means something to young and old alike. And I think it's very important that it should be understood that the man who comes to office as President, in November, must have a real feeling for the needs of people. And every record in his voting will show that Senator Kennedy has that feeling.

Now I ^{would} add one word about giving, in the states, and in the Congress, as much support as can possibly be given. Because if you can have the executive branch and the legislative branch both under the same party, you have a much better chance to enact the programs and to have legislations as you want it, not watered down or amended. And you also have the opportunity to defeat the coalition

of reactionary Democrats and reactionary Republicans which has stalled so many things of real importance in the past Administration. And leadership in the White House is essential in of our very vital problems, which are both domestic problems and touch our world leadership.

We have an overall quarrel for the leadership in the world with the Communist areas of the world. Mr. Khrushchev so far leads the Communist group. But he has pressures from the inside, from the extremists in the Soviet Union, from the Communist Chinese. On our side, we are the leaders of the Western world; we are the leaders of the non-Communist world. One of the very important questions is the question, how we treat our minorities in this country. Everywhere you go in the world, in Asian and African countries, that's one of the first questions you'll be asked. And very often, they say, "Where does your President stand?" You have to say, "Well, he has said that the law of the land is to be enforced, but he's never said where he stands. Now, I think it's one of the obligations of the Presidency to lead in the moral

the
and spiritual questions of the country. And I think
that the President has an opportunity to exert his
tremendous influence on how we do Civil Rights
is something which means a great deal in our ability
to win the uncommitted nations of the world. We
have to care as much about Democracy as the Communists
care about Communism. And we have to fight for it, with
just as much vigor, and just as much driving force.

You probably watched the U.N., the performance
which Khrushchev put on while he was here. He'd
never before been thwarted; he'd never been told to
get out of the country. Well, we were told too, to
leave the Congo. But he disliked being told very
much indeed. And, as a result he made up his mind
to try to wreck the United Nations and the Secretary
General. He did not succeed, because to do so he
had to win the new African states. And he wooed
them, but he lost. And, as a result, we saw a most
amusing spectacle of Mr. Khrushchev putting on all
kinds of a show, and losing more and more the very
people he really wanted to have. He'd never sat in
a parliamentary body before, where he had to listen

to people who said things that he didn't agree with. In the Presidium of the Soviet Union, nobody speaks against your point of view. And this was an entirely new experience! And he didn't like it very much, and he took it out boorishly, rudely, and he lost what he came for. But he did do something, which I think we must surely think about. Some of the young reporters said to me, "I wish we had in the ^W_est, someone who could give speeches with the ring of conviction and force and drive in their belief in Democracy, that Mr. Khrushchev put into his beliefs in Communism." But it's quite true that he believes that he can have a Communist world, and that ^a Communist world is the law of the future. And it is only if we do better first than he does, that we will win.

So I would be happy if we had a leader in the White House who can draw around him people of conviction, people of fire, who can inspire, and that we perhaps will have an articulate spokesman in the United Nations who can give this same feeling of conviction, drive, and force that Mr. Khrushchev gave to his ideas. Now, you never want to underestimate

your adversaries, and I would ask you, here, because you probably could watch it, to remember how carefully calculated Mr. Khrushchev's outbursts were. The best speech that was made in the United Nations on the

was Mr. Macmillan's speech. But, as the British usually are, he spoke with great restraint. He was very, very restrained. And Mr. Khrushchev recognized that this was a good speech, and he could see that our newspapers would give it front-page coverage. And that day he put on more of a show than he'd put on any other day, because he was bound that he would at least cut that coverage down and get half ^{of} that front-page news [Laughter] And he succeeded.

Now, we have to have something that is more vital. And I am hopeful that you will not only go out and work from now until election day, but that you will see that everyone possible is brought to vote, for the Democratic party, for the Kennedy ticket, and for all your state and local people, because I believe these are crucial years, and I believe that we can start building for a peaceful

future, and a better future for the lives of our people. But I think it will take leadership, and I think we will only have it if we elect John F. Kennedy.

/Applause/

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH AT JOLIET, ILLINOIS, Chapter, NAACP, 10/23/60

Presiding, Mr.

Brown:

Good evening, Ladies and Gentlemen. On behalf of the Joliet branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I wish to welcome you here this evening. You have been very generous in your support of our programs in the past, such as our after-the-shows that we held at the high school last year. You have attended well our NAACP Sundays, in which we have brought to this community outstanding speakers, such as Laxley Hughes, Wiley Bratton, the lawyer in the Little Rock school cases, Mrs. Edith Sampson, who is an alternate delegate to the United Nations. And our program committee, I know I speak for them when I say we hope that you will continue your support of our programs in the future.

I wish to thank the committee that has worked so hard to bring this night to you. I'd like to thank Dr. Ellie Scholden, who's just walked out the

door there, who's chairman of this committee. He's also president of the Illinois State Conference of Branches, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I wish also to thank Mr. Barnard Williams, our publicity chairman, who has done such a grand job in spreading the news of this occasion. And also, Reverend Secorra, the third member of the committee, who is chairman of our board.

For many of you in this audience, this is probably your first contact with the NAACP, outside of reading about it in the papers or hearing about it on radio or television. For those who are not familiar with the NAACP, I'd like to give just a short history of it, and a brief summary of our aims. The organization was founded in the state of Illinois about 1909, by a group of white and colored people who decided that race riots were a blot on the American picture. And they decided to do something about it. They met, and from that beginning in 1909 the organization has progressed to a point where we now have three hundred thousand members throughout the country, and

approximately twelve hundred branches.

For the aims of this organization, I would like to read the reverse of our membership card, so that you will know what our purposes are. One is, "to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation from all aspects of public life in America. Second, to secure a free ballot for every qualified American citizen. Third, to seek justice in the courts. Fourth, to secure legislation banning discrimination and segregation. Fifth, to secure equal job opportunities based on individual merit, without regard to race, creed, religion, or national origin." And, "Sixth, to end mob violence and police brutality." The attainment of these objectives, we feel, will help mold America into the image that we would like for her to be held throughout the world."

Our Joliet branch has had some success in these fields. We now have Negro teachers in our school system. We also have all public facilities, such as bathing beaches, swimming pools, golf courses, are open on a non-segregated basis. With the aid of our state's Attorney [General], places of public

accommodation, such as restaurants, hotels, bowling alleys, do not practice discrimination. In the field of equal opportunity, and equal employment and housing, we still have a long way to go. It has been stated that about 81% of the industries in this area do discriminate in employment, and we do know what the housing picture is at the present time. These are fields that our branch is working on at this present time.

Tonight we are honored to have a person who feels that these are the correct aims of a person. And she applies these principles not only to the United States, but she thinks they should be applicable all over the world. We know that she has shown this by her work in the United Nations organization, and especially we in the NAACP know it, because she is a member of our national board. I know that you didn't come to hear me speak, and I want to close my remarks at this time. But at this time I would like to bring another member of our branch, who will introduce our main speaker, Miss Dorothy O'Brien. Miss O'Brien. [Applause]

Dorothy O'Brien:

Thank you, Mr. Brown. Fellow members of the NAACP, and friends, we had dinner this evening with Mrs. Roosevelt, and after we had eaten, she offered to answer a few questions for us. From the very simple, possible questions, we were given a little trip to some other parts of the world--to Tehran, to London, to Paris, and to Israel--an inspirational message. For me to attempt to do as good a job as should be done to introduce this wonderful woman, would be completely inadequate. But I want you to know that [this is] one of the most wonderful [moments] in my life, to present to you the First Lady of the world, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. [Applause]

Eleanor Roosevelt:

Thank you. And I hope they're going to put the lights on, because I can't see my notes [Laughter].

Ladies and Gentlemen, I'm very glad to speak to you tonight, and to talk to you on the subject of, What can we do to prevent World Communism? Now, I think the very first thing that we can do is to know a little more than we know

about Communism, about the conditions in Communist countries. Many of us think that Communism is just what Karl Marx wrote, and what Lenin also wrote about it. in working out Communism, changed a great deal, many of the things. The idea

Karl Marx, was that all people should share with their government; all people should share together. That's not the way it was done in the Soviet Union. And now we have Nikita S. Khrushchev, we have , which is even more difficult to understand. We have a leader in the Soviet Union which is still looked upon as anathema by Congressmen, who have a great many for Communism. China, Communist China, is probably in the period of the early Stalin times. Joseph They are putting pressure all the time on Mr. Khrushchev, because on the whole they have no objections to an atomic war. Now Mr. Khrushchev has as much real knowledge about the destruction that we would be getting into to bring about, in an atomic war, as we have. He knows just about as much as we do. And he's not anxious for an atomic war, unless because I'm glad he was sure he could wipe out

sufficient strength on the opposing side, he would know that there would be retaliation, and if there is retaliation, he knows that he will just as much as the people he has attacked first off.

So the only people who really are ready to consider an atomic war are the Communist Chinese, because they haven't yet got the bomb; they don't know the exact amount of damage that it can do, and they're very careless about human life. When Mao Tse Tung, or Chou En-lai, I can't remember which-- what to visit President ~~Josip Broz~~ Tito of Yugoslavia, he said he believed that war is inevitable, and if we lost, we probably would not suffer very much in our industry, because our industry is still considerably scattered. And if we lost three hundred million people, we would still have more people left than all the rest of the world put together. And so, from our point of view, we would be the top of the world.

So Mr. Khrushchev has his pressures. He has, within his own country, certain leaders who are extremists, one way or the other. He himself, I think,

is on the whole what we would call a moderate. He's not moderate in the sense that he believes that Communism is the law of the future. That he absolutely believes. He will look at you, and he will say, "You are wasting your time. It may take a few years, more or less, but in the long run, Communism is the law of the future." And there's no answering the challenge tossed out to you, except, "Well, sir, I'm quite convinced that you would do the best you can to bring about the results that you want. And on the other hand, I shall do the best that I know how, to oppose, and try and keep you from achieving the results you want."

A very strange that we have a belief for democracy that is just as vital and as strong as his belief in Communism. Of course you don't fight an idea without having an idea, that is as strong and as vital as possible. And I think that's one thing that we can do, to fight Communism. We can understand what Communism is. Communism means believes that the only important things to human beings are bare material well-being. All the time

we were drawing up the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, within the United Nations, the Soviets spent their entire time saying to us, "These rights aren't important. These civil or political rights have no importance at all. They're 18th Century rights; they belong to a former era. The only really important rights are the economic and social rights."

Well, some of us would say, "We are gaining our economic and social because we have our civil and political rights. Without having had civil and political rights, we would not have gained our social and economic rights." But the idea of Communism is a materialistic idea. It is that the one important thing to a human being is that their naive life should be better. And you know, there is some basis truth to it, because I have seen conditions in this country where a man would have sold the right to his secret ballot for one good meal for his

Now, true, that was in the days of the Depression, and it was in the mining areas, where conditions were very bad. But nevertheless, I have

seen that here. So I do not belittle the importance of economic and social rights.

But finally we brought out, in the General Assembly, in Paris, in the autumn of 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I think the vote was very interesting. No one voted against it; two little countries stayed away. They were afraid to vote at all--Yemen, and San Salvador. A number of nations abstained everybody else voted for it. Now the abstentions were the Soviet Union and their satellites. They abstained because this was just an old-fashioned document, dealing with 18th Century writers. "Why did you want to say, people had the right of habeus corpus? Why did you want us to say, people had the right to participate in your government." All these things were old, 18th Century, and they couldn't bother with , which were so old hat. And so, they just abstained.

Now South Africa and Saudi Arabia also abstained. Saudi Arabia, because the representative from Saudi Arabia, the delegate, was a Lebanese and a Christian,

but he said that the King of Saudi Arabia, whom he represented, would never have interpreted the Koran the way of Pakistan interpreted it. And so he abstained. Now that very interesting to , because we almost lost a great many votes. We had representation on the Human Rights Commission on a geographic basis, representing different parts of the world, different religions, and from the Mohammedan world we had Charles of Lebanon. He was Christian. Somehow he forgot to consult with Mohammedans, and when it came to Committee Three of the United Nations, every one of the Mohammedan countries said, "You have, in your article on Freedom of Conscience and Religion, the words, 'you have the right to change your religion or belief.' The Koran does not give us that right."

Charles was very when he was shown what he had done. And he went to , foreign minister of Pakistan, represent Mohammedan countries. And got up in the General Assembly, and he said, "I think my delegate in Committee Three

voted wrong. I interpretet the Koran to mean, 'He who can believe, shall believe. He who cannot believe, shall disbelieve. The only unforgivable sin is to be a sinner.'" You know, that wasn't very bad. And so, in the end, all the Arab states, except Saudi Arabia and little Yemen, who didn't vote at all,--Saudi Arabia just abstained--all the others vote for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

And that left South Africa. And South Africa said, "We tend to give our people basic human rights, but this document goes much too far; it is much towards violence. And therefore we will have to abstain.

As you look at history, as it was in those days, you're rather interested in that vote, because it really represented

. And to this day, the Soviet Union is still fighting to make economic and social rights the only really important rights for the people of the world. It is quite natural that they shouldn't want civil and political rights. They couldn't control their own people the

to
way they do, and have a one-party system. And so,
of course it's much more convenient if you can com-
pletely control

But the Soviet Union, and Communism in general,
is a very dynamic organization. They really believe
that Communism is the law of the future. They really
believe that they can have peace, and that they need
not have an atomic war to win a Communist
Now this is the main thing that we want to understand,
because many of us think that our real defense against
Communism is only in military strength. And this is
not true. I think you do have to have a balance of
power until you really get started in reduction of
military power, and building it up in the United
Nations. But the Soviets are not counting on
military power to win their objectives, alone. They
are using economic and cultural methods. And this
is what we need to understand, because this is where
we are doing very little to counteract
We want to win the uncommitted nations of the world.
One thing I think we haven't done, and that is that
we, as the leaders of the non-Communist world are

painting the picture here at home of what Democracy means, and that all the world is watching us, that they know, almost as quick as we know it ourselves, every single thing that happens in our country, so that actually to prove that Democracy offers something to the world beyond the mere material well-being is true here in our country. And we'd better see to it that we give a good example.

That's why Civil Rights is no longer a domestic question. It is today one of the most important questions in our world leadership. We cannot ignore the fact that these new nations in Africa and Asia, who just won their freedom from political control, are first of all very much afraid of our economic control. And then, one of the first questions they ask us, is, "How do you treat your minority groups?" "You" meaning the United States. Everything that happens here may seem to us something unimportant, but certainly relative to the world, it may be of very great importance.

There was a little incident that occurred some years ago in a Houston airport. The Indian Ambassador,

Mr. [redacted] was asked by the manager of the airport to go into a segregated diner. He went without question. And the next day, apologized. Well, the first instance rated in the New York papers about three little paragraphs. And the apology the next day rated about one and one-half. And that was the end of it here. I was in Tokyo, and for three days they ran banner headlines clear across the front page of the paper that has the biggest circulation in the whole of Japan, which shows what a little thing will mean to people in other parts of the world. And the question you get asked very often, is "Would these things happen if you did not treat your own citizens this way?" Well, obviously they wouldn't happen. And so this is a very difficult question to ask.

of the ways in which we fight Communism. It's quite a possibility that if we do not win a majority of the new Asian and African states, we may wake up some day and find that we have too little of the world left in which to . It's going to be a very uncomfortable

the world has a chance to as it is in South America, as it is in Africa, in Asia, the better it will be for us in our overall struggle against Communism. And how often do we use cultural weapons, which is used to much by the Soviet Union. I don't think we even give it a thought. Our books are so expensive that the average income can't buy and American book. The Soviet books are sold two or three books a . That's subsidy, of course. But that is worth it. And what do we Do we tell them that they're living in a time of high adventure, that they're living in a time . The very best we have to offer, Not just getting around, but doing the very best we can possibly. Because we are challenged by the young

who are fanatical in their views, And unless we have as strong and a force back of our own, then you'll make more of the impression than usual. And the Soviets use everything they possibly can. As a political , they educate their children. Their whole schooling is so arranged that the children will be useful when their education is through,

. Now we can't order our children to do anything, but in the Soviet Union, you're not to do anything. And so perhaps that is easier. But I have the feeling that if we really inspired our youngsters, and told them

the piece of work to be done, we wouldn't have such difficulty in making them cooperative.

In our country we've always met whatever challenge we had to meet. But someone has to tell us that there is a challenge. Someone has to point it before us, and let us decide whether we are willing to meet it or not. It can be awful; it can be frightening, and we can prepare.

Now what do they do with education in the Soviet

Union? They begin the baby when he's two months old. That day his mother goes back to work, and the baby is put in a day nursery. And he begins his training instantly. Now this sounds ridiculous to you, but nevertheless it's true. They want a disciplined and an amenable people. Now what this type of education will eventually do, what I know of--I've asked a number of times, oh, once a year maybe,

--but this is what happens.

To the babies entering the nursery, either on the farm, or in the factory, or in the area where the mother has to work, the nurse takes the baby down in the If the baby cries, they love children. They don't force- them at all! They take him right back to his nice warm meal. But every day at the same hour, the same thing happens. The baby, the baby exercises

And by the time that child is six months old, he will cooperate He will know exactly what is expected of him. You won't have to hold his little hand to life him up and down.

He knows. You just hold two little rings up, and he grabs the rings. And you lift him up and down the number of times, and he

And then he begins to move first. And then he lies perfectly still, prepared for you to hold him up by your one hand, and to turn him over. And to

twirl him around on one ^{finger.} And he loves it! And by the time he's a year and a half to two years old, that child will go through an entire routine. I've seen four of them doing it together, in an exercise room. ~~When~~ they came to the point where they were going to climb up the bars, I thought, whew, a year and a half someone was going to make a mistake, somebody was going to fall, break into tears. . . . Not at all! Nobody made a mistake. There were no tears; they went up and they came down--faultless!

And when you go to nursery-kindergarten, when you are seven, you go into the , and one little boy is elected president of his class. Oh, he is very pleased. He marches his class in a line-- not one bit of deviation! But he marches them out

at the end of class. There are two young children from grades three and four waiting them outside to take them over, and take them to the next class, or, if the end of the morning has come, to see that they get their coats, and, ^{if} they have their lunch in school, that they go into the lunchroom. I how many do you have in a class an impossible number. No teacher could protect a mental or emotional protection a child of four. But after I sat through two or three classes, I decided that I was wrong. When you have perfect discipline, any slight deviation is immediately

Now the child in the Soviet Union, when he enters the school, can choose. Will he go into the school which will teach him Chinese as his second language, German, or English? And if he chooses English,

with the American accent, or with the British.

[laughter] And he can learn that language before the turn of the century. And when he comes through, he will speak it just the way you speak it in those days. And along the way, he will have learned how to learn a language. And then he comes to where in his education

he's made to pass the examinations all together, now. And for higher education, the government gives him a limited subsidy, as well as his free education. It's a bare living, but there isn't any limit. If he will learn one extra language, he can have 20% added. to his sum. If he learns two extra languages, he can have an extra 15% added. And every language beyond that, he will have 10% more added to his .

Now when I said to Mr. Khrushchev, "This looks to me strangely like the capitalistic system

they always educate a few more engineers, or doctors, or sanitation officials, or teachers, or administrators,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. PRESS CONFERENCE IN INDIANA, 10/27/60

Q: Well, in any event, you would like to see Mr. Stevenson. ^{Adlai}

Why would you like to see him

A: I would like to see him for the same reason that I have worked for his nomination

the best head, at this point, to deal with foreign affairs which are going to be very important in the next years.

Q: Would you have any comment on the prestige fight?

A: Yes, I would have the comment that--private evidence-- Mr. ^{Richard M.} Nixon hasn't been around the world as a private individual.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, what, in your view, considering your wide travels--and you had additional experience--is the status of U.S. prestige?

A: I think in the last few years we've lost status.

Q: Do you have any comment to make as regard to Quemoy and Matsu situations?

A: Well, Mr. Kennedy's telling the truth with people who haven't been told the truth for some time. And

I think it's high time they were.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, in Indiana, we have a right-to-work law that's causing a great deal of controversy.

Could you give us your opinion on this law?

A: Well, I understand that your Democratic candidate for Governor, Mr. Welch, is opposed to this law. You know quite well what my stand is, because Senator Herbert H. Lehman and I worked very hard to prevent its passage in a number of states, some years ago. I think it's a phony law; the "right to work" is not what it means, and I think it should be repealed.

Q: Another question, Mrs. Roosevelt. Do you think the school system in this country will ever reach the stature required to achieve our national purposes, with only state and local financing?

A: No. I think we have to have federal aid to education.

Q: Thank you.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, do you feel that Senator Kennedy's campaign for the Presidency has been effective, that he has emphasized the issues which should have been emphasized?

A: Yes, I think he has.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, some observers say Senator Kennedy is reminiscent of FDR [Franklin D. Roosevelt]. Do he remind you of your late husband in his younger days?

A: Well, you can't ever say that one person is exactly alike another, particularly when circumstances are different. My husband came to national public life at a crisis, an economic crisis. Mr. Kennedy comes, if he is elected, to responsibility nationally in public life, at a crisis in foreign affairs. Now these may be similar in some ways, but they are naturally different in other ways. But I think that there are some similarities. There's a certain amount of decision and confidence in Mr. Kennedy which is similar. And, as you have to meet crises and problems that have not been met, but that have been pushed away, I think perhaps it's a good thing to see a person who is able to take decisions, and who has an affirmative approach to problems. Well,

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt [Interruption] action as regard to Cuba. Do you fear an all-out Russian support of

Cuba, from a military standpoint?

A: Do I fear what?

Q: Should we have to pursue drastic action as regard

Cuba? Do you fear an all-out Russian support of Cuba, from a military standpoint?

A: Well, I hope we'd not have to do anything like that.

It would mean that we had, I think, handled the situation very badly. I do not think that there ^{would} be any military support from Russia.

Q: You do not feel that. . . .


A: No. Any military support, ^{is} from Russia.

Q: Yes.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I'd like to ask you one question.

In your opinion, does America have a larger voting percentage than the other countries of the Free World?

A: Well, I've never looked at the percentage of votes in all the other countries of the world. I think there are countries that have a better average of voting, but most of them have penalties if you don't vote. And therefore it can't be said that it's exactly done out of your own conscience, you



see. Many countries have a penalty if you do not exercise your franchise.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, you feel Senator Kennedy will carry
do
New York State?

A: Yes, I do.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, as a college professor, how do you think the younger people, our universities and colleges are leaning, conservative or liberal?

A: That's very difficult to say. Some colleges I would think it was divided. You can't put all young people into classifications. And I would say that it is a divided thing.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, you had some reservations about the capabilities of Senator Kennedy before he secured the nomination. Do you still have certain reservations?

A: I had beforehand, as you know, first of all a feeling, when he tried to get the Vice Presidency, that he had not come out in a forthright ^{way} on McCarthyism. And I felt you had to do that. He has, since then done it. I also had a feeling that between Mr. Stevenson and Senator Kennedy, given the circumstances that he was probably going to have to meet, I would prefer to

Mr. Stevenson at the head of the ticket, and Mr. Kennedy as Vice President. However, the decision was different, by the delegates, and I have been very favorably impressed by the campaign, by the debates, and by my contact with Senator Kennedy. I think that he is mature to an astonishing extent. I think he has the qualities of a scholar; he has ^a the sense of history. And I am very sure that, if elected, he will make a very good public servant.

S: Do you feel he will be elected, Mrs. Roosevelt?

A: Yes, I do.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, what are your thoughts on the television debates?

A: Well, I thought it was a milestone in television history, because it television suddenly became a very useful thing. Laughter And I think it has been useful. I've been very much interested in asking people. . . . The whole point was that now, a great many people who would never have seen their candidate, who ^{would} ~~had~~ never have heard their candidate, could actually see and hear on the screen. And Mrs. Kennedy I think has done very well, because

he has been himself, right from the beginning. And I think that people had a feeling that, in the case of both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kennedy, they had a very good opportunity to get to know them, personally, and to hear their views, and judge. And I'm astonished at the number of people, in New York City, for instance, and New York State, who have not missed a single debate.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, what is your opinion of Vice President Nixon's ^{recommendation} ~~recomment~~ proposal last night, regarding a summit conference?

A: I did not hear it, I'm sorry to say, and I don't know what it was. Could you tell me?"

Q: Since I only hear it on the radio and haven't had a chance to read it, maybe somebody else could tell you in better detail. It's my understanding that he proposed that on November 8th, that if he were elected, ^{Dwight D.} ~~that~~ he would ask President Eisenhower to assign Senator Lodge to begin negotiations immediately for a summit conference early next year. Is that about correct?

Q: On disarmament. It was specific, yes.

A: Well, I would say that any summit conference on

conference on disarmament should be very carefully prepared. And whether it could be done immediately or not, I don't know. But I'm quite sure that there's no use in having a summit conference unless it's carefully prepared, and done within at least the aura of the United Nations.

should

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, what did ~~PRESIDENT~~ Eisenhower do with that USIA United States Information Agency paper that Senator Kennedy said they're holding back. Should the public know what it is?

At Publish it. Laughter

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I understand this mornign that the New York Times came out for Kennedy. Did you expect other major newspapers to do likewise?

A1: Well, I don't really know enough about the newspaper field to know. But I'm glad to hear that the New York Times had come out.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, in your opinion, do you think that Hawaii and Alaska will go for Mr. Kennedy, or Mrs. Nixon?

As Well, of course, I have absolutely no idea, of course.
I haven't been in either Hawaii or Alaska. I would

have no idea whatsoever.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, you spent a lot of time in the United Nations, representing the country. What do you think about the caliber of our leadership in the United Nations now?

A: I spent six years there, under Senator

, who was a Republican from Vermont. But he was a tremendous internationalist. He wanted desperately to have good international relations. When he was taken ill, I happened, because of seniority, to be left in charge of the delegation in Paris. And every one, in different words, of course, every head of delegation came up and said, "I'm so sorry that the Ambassador is ill. But we loved him." We don't always agree with some of the United States positions, but if the Ambassador told us something was true, we knew it was true. And that was a remarkable reputation to have earned among all the delegates in the United Nations at that time. I think you'll find that very difficult to get as a tribute for Mr. Lodge, who has just left the United Nations.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, do you feel that the small nations of Africa that have recently joined the UN should in fact have equal voting powers with those of the U.S. or England?

A: Well, that is one of the things that is considered to be a point that would have to be brought up. If a meeting was called and the American Association for the United Nations, which has an affiliate the Organization of Peace, has written a book each year with possible things that could be done to improve the Charter, and just the general set-up. And that's one of the things for discussion.

Q: Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt.

Q: One more questions What do you think the basic factor in this religious issue is? What is it that the people fear? And is it a real

A: When I think that people fear something which they don't quite understand; for instance, what they really fear is the church, or religious organization. It's never a candidate; it's never one individual. But it's the church organizations that try to get special

privileges. But they try to do it through law. And the thing that you want to prevent, and watch for, is the passage of state and national laws that favor special privileges for any church organization whatsoever. Now, I would grant you that some church organizations have gone ahead and gained for themselves more privileges than perhaps they should have. But that's because we're not good citizens; we don't watch what is happening legally. And this is where your danger lies. It doesn't lie in the least in electing someone to office, and under the Constitution we have no right to ask anybody about their race or their religion. They go to war for us, and they may die for us, and they have a right to run for office and to be a public servant if they wish to serve. But this, this is ridiculous, really, because we [the United States] were founded on freedom of religion; That does not mean freedom for one religion. The people who came here and fought had the hardest time, at first, with the Quakers and the Jews. And it was to maintain freedom of religion that many people came to the United States. And suddenly to decide

that one religion has freedom and nothing else. And freedom to serve as a public servant--this is simply a true attainment of freedom. But to watch church organizations who legally try, through laws, to get special privileges, that is most important, and every citizen should do it. But, of course, citizens are apt to get careless and not to do their jobs.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, your late husband at one time said there was nothing to fear but fear itself. You feel that same way, don't you?

A: Oh, yes.

Q: Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH

Eleanor Roosevelt:

grow their own food.

But the fact remains that we do have enough actual
 food grown to feed our own people and some to save.
 Only, we never really to
 do the best we could, and together cooperate with
 other people. Now, Food and Agriculture for the
 United Nations is starting this year a five-year
 plan to remove hunger in the world. And we should
 cooperate. [Applause] We should
 cooperate with our neighbors. For instance, Canada
 can only grow wheat, but we grow in our country, too.
 We have a very soil, and with study, we
 could probably grow almost any

to talk to our farmers,

to try to tell them, this was

to have them tell it to the farmers.

I think, if we don't give our people a chance to be great people, because we don't tell them what are the challenges that the world around is talking about. There's no reason why we cannot put our best minds. We're supposed to have the best financial brains in the world. When some people refer to, are responsive to, financial integrity. And it's obvious how we can distribute . And it's obvious how we might deal and the diplomatic . And it's really to our people, and to the leaders.

We haven't really done a good job, in spite of all our , in our foreign aid. We've given a great deal, but much too much military assistance, which helps to get rid of materiel, which we couldn't use in any number in this country. But it's real objective was supposed to be to build up a country so that they could resist a Soviet move when attacking them. Now, I'm going to ask you whether you think that with all the help Saudi Arabia has had, it could stand up two minutes under a real attack by air from the Soviet Union. When you begin to think about this, you see how utterly foolish it is! And this

a very valuable, , but it hasn't
been a .

Now it's over with, and to criticise our country,
is what few Americans have done. To criticise things th
that are not being done right, constructively, and
to say that you want people to go to work to find
better answers, it's the best thing you can do, because
when you're not doing a really good job, believe me,
the world knows it. And the best thing you can do
is to hold up the hopes that you're going to try a
new America. [Applause]

Now, a number of you
probably

'48 Social Security. That is
the cheapest, and the best way to do it. [Applause]

because

Our Social Security is really not too

young men

already have almost all they can do to pay for
doctor bills and food, are offering a lion's share.

because national social
Security does not cover the real needs that a man

. Now, I think it's perfectly obvious that we must be prepared to increase our Social Security, including medical care for the aged. And this is as important to the young as it is to the old Applause.

We have a candidate

which makes

him want to do these things, which makes him want to see our schools better . We, of course, have very good schools, fine opportunities for our young people. But we need more schools, more participation for our children, and better teachers, better-trained-teachers. Applause

carried by the cities or the states alone.

And people are will the federal government come in and control our education, if we take aid? I'm awfully tired of these arguments; I've heard it for so many years, And it's kept us from having better education, and better schools. The real struth of the statement is that Land-Grand colleges have been getting subsidies from the federal government for many, many, many years, and they go

right straight on controlling their curriculum and
their ^{uniform} Applause. I would like to see
us held up to one of the standards in parts of this
country, where our , because we are now
a moving population. We move from place to place.
And I think it is a shame that some of our children
have less good standards in their and

. I'm quite sure that
receiving grants from the federal government will
not upset our freedom in our controls of our education.
And I'm very happy that we will have in our candidate
someone who is really interested in education. Because
of the , I am very happy to have been
able . I put forth great strides End of tape

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. PRESS CONFERENCE, URBANA, ILL.,

10/27/60.

at University of Illinois?

Q: Do you think the Communists wish to, or plan to wreck the United Nations?

A: Oh, I think Mr. Khrushchev had every intention of it. He couldn't get his own way, but he'd wreck the United Nations if he could, because he's not accustomed to not getting his own way. And, even though we also were put out from the Congo, he didn't like being put out of the Congo at all. And particularly, he was opposed to the Secretary General, who he insisted was a tool of imperialism and the West. And so I think he had He'd come to woo the African nations, and the votes showed that he had not done so. And so he did not succeed in wrecking the United Nations, and I think he left it stronger than ever before, and in this country, it had a marvelous effect. Because I find wherever I go, I don't have to explain any more about the United Nations. Suddenly there's a tremendous interest, and everybody knows about it. So he did us a great

deal of good, and, I think, the U.N. a great deal of good.

Q: May I ask ~~---~~ another question? I wonder how you maintain this vigorousness you have.

A:

Q: But I wondered whether you had any secret, or the recipe.

A: No, I'm afraid I have no secrets at all.

Q: Thank you.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I'm Vaughan from WCIA[?]-Champaign. I have two questions. First, what is your reaction to the four televised debates between the Presidential candidates?

A: Well, I think it was a milestone in television usage, because for the first time millions of people in this country, who would otherwise never have seen or heard their candidates, were able to see them, and to hear them, to make up their own minds, as to how they felt about them as people, and how they felt about their policies. And I think this is a great service to the

voters. I would prefer to have some[?] real debates, and no questions from reporters, but I was glad from[?] the beginning that we had them as they were.

Q: How do you think your husband would have taken to that kind of a campaign tool?

A: Oh, I think he would have loved it!

Q: May I ask a question, Mrs. Roosevelt. What do you think the chances of Senator Kennedy winning will be? Do you think they are improving as the campaign goes on?

A: They're improving every day.

Q: You have stated that the United States' prestige has fallen in the world, and yet we have not lost one single citizen in the General Assembly of the United Nations, or

A: When you go around the world

We reached a point in the very first year on the question of the representation by the Taiwan representative of China in another year[]].

Q: Well, that's just speculation.

A: Oh, no, it isn't speculation. We'd have lost it this year, if it hadn't been for . And by next year, lots of those countries will not be

Q: What do you think

A: Well, I hope that the United States will face this problem before next year, and that it will not wait until it is beaten. I would far rather have us make suggestions, than wait until we're beaten.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, would you comment upon the religious issue?

A: Religious issue?

Q: Do you think it is going to be more acute in the campaign, or less, from now on?

A: Well, I really don't know. I'm very sorry sometimes, that we still have people who like to send out hate literature. And I think have confused real religious issues. Our Constitution says that we should ask no man, as qualification for office, what is his race or his religion. And therefore, it is a phrase unconstitutional to say that anyone who wishes to run for public office, cannot run for public office. We ask our young men to die for ^{their} country in a war, and we never ask them their race or their race

or their religion. Now, I think this is a little bit strange if they haven't the right to run for public office. I think what people are really afraid of, is something which is not really clearly understood. We believe in the separation of church and state. That really means that we do not want any religion, any religious organization to have special privileges. We were founded on freedom of religion. People who came here, many of them came from persecution. Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Quakers, all of them came from persecution. And so we were founded on freedom of religion. Freedom for all religions, not for any one religion. But, all of us know that church organizations are very apt to seek special privileges. But they seek them by law; they seek them either by state law or national law. And if we set up proper organizations to watch for such laws, and if we are alert citizens and fight a law that we think is wrong, because it does interfere with the division between church and state, I think we're in no danger whatsoever. But that is where your danger lies, not in the election of someone

to public office.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I have a question for you. The Chicago Tribune this morning took the liberty to quote you and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson and several other leading known Democrats to the effect that, before the Democratic Presidential Convention to nominate Senator Kennedy, they asked Senator Kennedy to show some courage and unselfishness by accepting the second position on the ticket. And then they went out of their way to state that they thought that the current manner of accepting Kennedy was more to save face than it would be for any real desire to see Mr. Kennedy as our President.

A: Well, I can only speak for myself. I was for Adlai Stevenson a great many people in this state must also . I was for Adlai Stevenson as Vice President President and John Kennedy for the simple reason that I felt that we were going to have great decisions to make in foreign affairs, and I felt that we needed the most experienced, and the very best man

I was disappointed, as so were many other people. But we were Democrats. I have watched with

care; I've talked with the candidate. Beforehand, I had had the opinion of him, as to his obligation to take a stand on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. I felt he did not have to, because he was not in the Senate when he

I felt it was too important a question not to take a stand . He has since taken a stand, and I have watched him with grave intent. He has used all the people who know the most in their particular area. He's asked them to do research for him, in case of his election

He has asked them to campaign for him. It takes a big person to use people who perhaps know more than

I've come to respect Mr. Kennedy; I've come to like him, and I think he will make an excellent public servant.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, Vice President Nixon has indicated that, if he is elected, he will delegate a good bit of the responsibility for foreign policy to Senator Lodge. Do you believe that on the basis of his experience in the United Nations, this is a fair position for the Vice President to take?

A: Well, in the first place, no President can delegate his responsibility, because, again, the President is charged with the final decisions in foreign affairs. And you can't get out of it. You have to take that responsibility. Secondly, Ambassador Lodge is a brilliant man, but Ambassador Lodge has not made friends in the U.N. He is respected for his intellectual capacity, but you will find very few people who feel that they either know him, or are friendly with him. Now, I think at the present moment, we need people who can make friends. Now, I'm not speaking in this particular case in a partisan manner, because I served six years under Ambassador Austin, who was a Republican from Vermont. And I never saw a man who was a greater internationalist. Everybody respected him and liked him. And when he was taken ill in Paris, and I was left in charge, in different words they all said the same thing, "Mrs. Roosevelt, how is the Ambassador? We do not always agree with the policies of the United States, but when the Ambassador told us something was true, we knew it was true." That's a pretty fine reputation

to earn for yourself, and it's a very good basis for a friendly relation if you're a warm person. As Austin was he had a great number of close friends, and everyone liked him. I think you would not find that situation at present.

Q: I'm sorry, I'm going to have to take you in, Mrs. Roosevelt. Into the auditorium Our TV. . . .

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. SPEECH AT U. OF ILLINOIS, presided by Jane Dick
of Jane Dick, Chrm., Citizens for Kennedy 10/27/60

Presiding, _____:

behind schedule, and we're lucky the sun came out, or it would have been a lot later than that. We have the privilege of having the chairman of the advisory committee of the Citizens for Kennedy with us, Mrs. Dick. And we've asked her to speak to you for a moments before Mrs. Roosevelt takes the stand. Thank you. [Applause]

Jane Dick:

Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Goldman, and friends. Today in I just feel absolutely the most horrible position to be asked to say a few words before Mrs. Roosevelt.

that happened to me was once when I was interrupted in the middle of a speech was Governor Stevenson

everybody started to leave, please sit down; you will now hear the remaining remarks. [Laughter] It was very typical. ⁹ Anyway, I have just a few things I am going

to say. My political pedigree has been with the citizens involved here, and before, with Governor Stevenson, in 1948 when he ran for governor, '52 and '56 when he ran for President. And so, he's also an old personal friend of my husband's and mine. And I've been asked a great many times in this campaign, why are you working just as hard, as equal enthusiasm for Senator Kennedy, who know that up to the time of the Convention was only your second choice? Well, he's definitely my first choice, now, because he's our candidate, and I'm a Democrat.

/Applause/

And I have five very brief subsidiary reasons, well, not subsidiary, they're all reasons, but I think they're important. In the first place, we're living in a dynamic, changing world, and all the peoples of the world are seeking a better life today. I don't believe that the Free World's leader, or at least earstwhile leader--I hope we never fail as leader--can afford to stand still. The Soviet bloc is challenging us; the uncommitted world is watching us, and the Free World is looking to us to lead. I

think the Democratic platform, as articulated by the Democratic candidate, is dynamic. It's concerned with meeting the needs of today and tomorrow. On the home front, and in the areas of foreign policy and events, it's the program that we must all support, and I hope everybody here today wouldn't be here if they weren't tremendously in support of it.

My second reason is, that to meet the challenges of the day, we have to have a united and non-divided government. We have a sure Democratic Senate, almost a sure Democratic House; it's essential that we have a Democratic President. a prompt and and decisive unified action in the world has never been more important. The New York Times editorial yesterday, coming out in support of Kennedy, emphasized this as one of its major points.

My third reason, and I don't have to

is my distrust of Nixon. [Laughter; Applause]

I'm going to give my earlier reasons for distrusting him, among some of the things he said about the gentleman I've supported three different times, other very able candidate and fine American. But I do

think his great drawback, and the danger of Nixon today, is the fact that his thinking is always two to four years behind the times [Laughter]. He passes out four years late, or two years late, ^{same} the exact comments the Democrats have been making that many years earlier. It's true that we have gotten it, in time, simply two years or four years late, or even two to four weeks late, today. I know that two more weeks are many former Stevenson supporters are concerned, because Senator Kennedy hasn't announced what post he'll ask Governor Stevenson to fill. This is his privilege; I believe, Mrs. Roosevelt, that it's true that you are not to appoint your Cabinet until after you are elected, so I don't think unusual, that he hasn't done it. He has and I can only believe that he will go and put Governor Stevenson in a top post. All I do know for a fact is that if Vice President Nixon were elected, Adlai Stevenson will not even be made dog catcher [Laughter].

And my final of reason is, because of the enormous importance of this election. And I want to talk about Stevenson and Lawrence said to

me the other day about Senator Kennedy. She said she felt badly after the Convention. She said, "I'm now working hard and enthousiastically. What did it to me?" She said, "Senator Kennedy did it to me, entirely by himself."

And I think he has come through, on television, and in his books, ^{and} his speeches, as a man who is heir to the Stevenson tradition. I think he has a Stevensonian cast of mind; I think he's heir to much of the Stevenson thinking; he's admitted his debts. So he's a person on his own; he's no carbon copy of anybody. He has a fine mind, clarity of expression, convictions that are peculiarly his own. He's vigorous, articulate, and I believe his TV debates have shown us that he has a grasp of the problems, and real maturity, and a potential for great leadership. ^{the} And I feel it's ^{the} most important of all elections, because of our deteriorating position in the world, that I hope that everyone here, and that you urge everyone to follow the example of Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, and Adlai Stevenson, who are both beating the country from coast to coast, making speeches and urging the

election of Senator Kennedy. Thank you. Applause

Mrs. Goldman:

Jane, if my speech students got as much into a five-minute speech as that, they'd all get A-pluses. I'm very happy and proud indeed to bring to this campus again Mrs. Roosevelt, a woman who's imagination and understanding of people, who's broad view, and who's profound wisdom has made her loved, and made her a leader throughout the whole Free World. And, you mustn't forget, as I never forget, many of those things she's learned and proved through her life-long experience as a Democrat. Mrs. Roosevelt has said that she will answer questions after her talk. If you'll give them to me, I'll relay them to her. And now, the platform is for Mrs. Roosevelt. Applause

Eleanor Roosevelt:

I was told that there were among you many people who were still . . . sad because your statesman, Adlai Stevenson, had not won the nomination. Now, I don't think anyone was more anxious to have him win this nomination. I wanted him very much because I felt that we as a nation were going to face . . .

tremendous foreign policy decisions in the next few years, and that we would need someone with experience, who had tried to educate themselves in the world as a whole. And so, I came out for Governor Stevenson and John Kennedy, as the best ticket that we could have. The Convention decided otherwise. And as a Democrat, I would of course have supported the nominee for the Democratic Party. But I have watched very carefully everything that John Kennedy has said, or he's stood for. I've listened to every debate; I've seen and talked with him a couple of times, and I have learned a great deal about him.

Some time ago, when he was seeking the nomination as Vice President, I would not back him, because he had not come out clearly against Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, and I felt that that was one of the questions you had to be clear about. He felt, that since he was not in the Senate when the vote of censure was passed, he was not obligated to come out on that subject. However, since then he has done so. And as I watch him, as I watch what he has done, I have a greater and greater respect for him. You know,

sometimes they say that as a nation in the world, we are always seeking to have the peoples of the world love us. As a matter of fact, it's a great deal more important that they should respect us. Love

[Applause], but respect is something you earn, and something very important.

I think that if you will watch--I don't know about your papers; perhaps they haven't thought of it [Laughter; Applause]--but Governor Stevenson was asked by Senator Kennedy to campaign in all the states that he was willing to campaign in. And in addition to that, he was asked to do research so that in case we were victorious in November, he would have a memorandum prepared on first steps that from his point of view were essential to take. Now, this is interesting to me, because my observation of people, in public life particularly, has been that only big men are willing to have big people around them. If you're a little man, then you're afraid that you'll be dwarfed if you have someone who knows more than you do on a subject. And you're uncomfortable with people that are experts in certain

lines. But here is a man who asks the best people that he can find--Adlai Stevenson and Chester Bowles-- to go to work and do research for him, and speak for him. Now I haven't the remotest idea who will be nominated to what after the election. But if Senator Kennedy were to be asked now, it would be illegal for him to say who he would put in his cabinet, for the simple reason that you may not offer a cabinet post to anyone for a consideration. And if you've asked someone to campaign for you and to work for you, you certainly would be subject to having a consideration. So, it is not possible to know what Senator Kennedy will do.

But I feel very confident that in every possible way, he will seek able people. He will seek the best people he can find, and try to persuade them, if they will, to work with him. Now that is a very great attribute. You know, people have an idea that it's always easy to get people to come and work for you in Washington. I assure you that it isn't, because the gauge of success in our country is how much money you make. And if you take a job in Washington, you

will get far less money that you would get if you were out on your own in business. And so people, very often, are obliged to think a number of times even when they want to accept a position. And it's not the easy thing that most people think it is. It takes something which is important to remember, it takes the ability to tell people the truth about the situation in their country and in the world, and then to give them the inspiration so that they feel they are doing something, not for you--even though you are President of the United States--but for their country, for the people of their country. That's the way you get people to really work for you in Washington. It's the inspiration, the sense that there is something important to do, and that you can be a cog in the wheel of the exciting and the important thing that is going to be done.

And believe me, the next few years are going to be exciting and important years. In the field of foreign policy, we're going to reach a number of points where we can no longer evade decisions; we are going to have to make decisions. And, though I

was asked in my press conference whether I thought what Mr. Nixon had said was correct, that he would leave many of the decisions to Mr. Lodge if he were elected--in foreign policy--I have to remind you that ~~it's~~ in foreign affairs, the final decisions rest with the President of the United States. He cannot evade that responsibility.

And so, you want someone who is able to make decisions. Now, I'm not telling you that I think all the decisions will be correct, because I think we're going to make a number of mistakes. I would be impossible to meet the problems that we are going to have to meet in the next few years, without making some mistakes. We have one overriding struggle, the struggle between Communism and Democracy. And this is something I'd like to point out to you. The U.N. has the power, probably made so by Mr. Khrushchev, because he brought here more heads of states to one session of the General Assembly than had ever been collected together before. And we certainly got more news about the U.N. while he was here, in our newspapers. And I who have tried for a number of years

to just get our own people to know a little something about the United Nations, now find that I don't have to worry at all. Everybody knows about the United Nations [Laughter]. Everybody has heard about the United Nations.

Now, this has made representation in the United Nations very important. Now in this session, which goes on now to do some real work, we had a very interesting exhibition on the part of Mr. Khrushchev. He came with the determination to destroy the U.N., because it had thwarted him. It had told us also that we couldn't keep our people in the Congo, and it made him withdraw his people. And he does not like to have anyone tell him something that he doesn't want to do, and enforce it. And so he was annoyed, and wanted to destroy Mr. Hammarskjold, and he wanted to destroy the U.N. And he'd never before sat in a parliamentary body, where he would be obliged to listen to people who differed with him. This is unheard of! [Laughter] And as a result, he performed in many and marvelous ways [Laughter]. But never believe that there isn't some point to what he does.

Macmillan probably made the best speech, in the last session, for the West. And Khrushchev knew it was the best. And that was the day he behaved worse than he behaved any other day. You know why? He knew that Macmillan would get front-page notice, and he wanted to make quite sure that he got at least half of that notice. And he succeeded. He got quite as much as Macmillan did.

He's a very interesting and complicated person. Don't write him off. He is not to be ignored. But you need strength and imagination to admit it. As some of the reporters at the United Nations tell me, we deplore his tactics; That with all his boorishness, all his rudeness, all his efforts, and the fact that he couldn't win the African peoples whom he was wooing, in spite of that, he stated his beliefs with so much conviction, with such force and such drive that you couldn't help but feel that back of them lay great strength. And the sad thing was that we had no one who could speak for Democracy with as much conviction, as much inspiration, as much force and drive. This is what we have to have.

We have to have youth and energy and vitality and belief, convictions. You're never going to win against Communism unless you believe in Democracy. And why, why you believe: this has to be clear to you as an individual. The real thing that made our country strong in its early days was the fact that our forefathers had a deep belief. Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry could be because they knew what they believed in. They knew that they had come here to establish a new idea. To be sure, they hoped it would mean freedom and justice and opportunity on a broad scale for all people. But intrinsically, they knew that they had come from areas of the world where there was religious prejudice, where they had been persecuted because they were Protestants, they were Roman Catholics, they were Jews, they were Quakers. And they came here for freedom of religion, and because they believed in the inherent value of the human individual, because every individual had a spark of the divine.

Now this is the thing which we have to offer the world, in addition to the material things that .

the Soviets offer. This was the dream that drew to our shores the adventures of the world, and we mustn't forget the dream. We mustn't forget that this is again what the world will follow. But we have to have articulate spokesmen, in the United Nations, who have conviction, who have belief. And we haven't had them. And now we know that what we are looking for is leadership at home, and leadership in the world. We know that we need, in the White House, leadership. We know that we need, in the United Nations, leadership.

You know that a man alone cannot do what is going to be required of us in the next few years. But we are a great people; all that has to happen to us is that we should be awakened, and understand the challenge that is before us. We have never in this country failed to meet the challenge, but somebody has had to tell us that there was a challenge. Who's been telling you, in that last few years, that you had a challenge to meet? There are a great many young people in this room; has anyone been telling you that you had a challenge and an obligation to your country,

to do better than the Soviets, not just in a stronger military establishment, but in what you could do in the other nations of the world, the new nations coming into being? In the Soviet Union, young people are told, "You will learn this language. You will spend three years in that country, or two years. You will take your skills--doctor, lawyer, teacher, whatever--that you will have a friendly gesture when you learn the language. And you will be able to impart your ideas.⁴ We can't object to that. Persuasion is what we believe in. We have to meet it. We can't meet it with nothing. Who's telling our young people that there are fields of great service in Asia and ⁱⁿ Africa today? ⁴/Julius K./ Nyerere told me when he was here last year, that three years from now Tanganyika would be free. Tanganyika is a big country. He will then be thirty-two years old and Prime Minister of his country. And he will have between twelve and sixteen college graduates to call upon to help him set up a government. The Soviets are all ready. They will offer administrators; they will offer people to set up a Civil Service, ---to set up a sanitation service,

to set up an educational system. Now, without a doubt, this is something which I think our young people would rise to this challenge so quickly, if someone in their government told them that this was the great opportunity of the future. It isn't just the money we give. It certainly isn't the military aid. We've given a great deal of military aid, because it's easier to get through Congress than anything else. [Laughter] And I assure you that if you think that Saudi Arabia would stand up better against a real attack from the Soviet Union by air because of the military aid we've given, you are entirely mistaken.

This is not really the thing at all. And here are these new nations, new areas of the world, and how much do we know about them? How much real interest do we really have? This is our future. We can't live any more at home. Almost everything that is important at home is also important in the rest of the world. Civil Rights is enormously important at home. I've sat in the Civil Rights conference that Senator Kennedy called in New York, and I heard a man testify, from one of our Southern states, that

two of his friends had managed to register. They'd been visited by the citizens' council and told their names off or they would get it. They didn't take their names off, and one was shot; one was held up in his store and killed. And someone said to this man, who was testifying before a panel, "Won't there be reprisals for your coming up here to testify?". And he said, "Oh, when I went to the Washington Conference, they through rocks through all my windows. Of course there will be reprisals. But we have to gain the basic right to take part in our government, which is ours under the Constitution." This has an effect in the rest of the world on our leadership. This doesn't just mean that we here in this country have something that we must rectify. This means that rest of the world that knows almost as quickly as we do anything that happens here wonders whether we are going to give them, when they have just won their freedom, the dignity of equality. And this is not helpful when you are trying to be the leader of the non-Communist world. And you and I may know that the Communists are no better in their treatment

of minorities than we are. But they don't know that. They don't have our good communications. And the Communists are very clever in the way they talk. They say, "We offer you help for material things. We understand them so much better than the United States. The United States is so far away from your conditions. We're much closer. We can help you very much more."

Someone has to be telling us what the world in which we live is like, what are the problems that we face. We all of us want peace and disarmament. We can have it, but first we have to settle the political questions that have bothered us all through these years. How can you have disarmament unless Communist China is in on the agreement. You can't leave Communist China on the outside, armed, and all the rest of us unarmed. We have to face a few realities. We want peace; we want disarmament as a guarantee for peace. But your political questions have to be settled first. And these are going to require imagination, new approaches, firmness, but at the same time, a certain amount of flexibility. ~~I think, if you have watched Senator Kennedy as I~~

I think, if you have watched Senator Kennedy as I have, in the last few weeks, you will come to the conclusion that we have in him the youth and the vigor and the willingness to ask for help, and to get it from experience, that we have also the drive, we have the imagination, we have the sense of history without which I think no man can meet these problems in the future. You have to know the past, to understand the present, and to help you to make your effort to solve the problems of the future. I have grown to trust Senator Kennedy, and to believe in his integrity, and so I have no hesitation in asking you, on November 8th, to vote for the Democratic ticket, for the people that will uphold him in Congress and in the states, for the governor, for all the people that he will need to help him make our people as a whole conscious of their great responsibility. With great power in the world, with great ability to do things, and with good luck-- because we have had an extraordinary amount of good luck in this country--there goes tremendous responsibility. When the people of the world say to you

as you go about , "We understand that you pay to keep land out of production, and still you can grow more food than your people can eat. Our people go to bed hungry, every night. Couldn't you think of something better to do?" It's an awfully difficult question to answer. It's a question that makes you feel that perhaps we haven't used all of our intelligence, perhaps we haven't put our best minds to work on problems which are no longer just domestic, but touch all the corners of the world, and our influence in the world. It's an exciting period to live in; it's a period of great adventure. And I think in John Kennedy you will have a leader. He can lead on a PT boat, and, believe me, he did some things that must have End of tape

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. TAPED INTERVIEW, KMOX TV, NOVEMBER 1, 1960, 8:15 PM

Parker Wheatley:

Good evening. "Eye on St. Louis" has the honor
to welcome Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. [Taped Music]

Announcer:

"Eye on St. Louis", the program that looks at
the people, the places, and the problems of our
community. With the KMOX-TV Director of Public
Affairs, Barker Wheatley. Presented tonight by
your National Food Stores, serving you better, saving
you more with the extra savings of Eagle Stamps.

[60-second commercial]

Barker Wheatley: Mrs. Roosevelt, in your book, This I Remember, which
many of us recall, and I'm sure you do. . . .

A: Yes, I do.

Q: . . . you wrote in the final chapter one little
paragraph from which I'd like to read. You said,
"One cannot live the life Franklin led in Washington,
and keep up many personal friendships. A man in
high public office is neither husband, nor father,

nor friend, in the commonly accepted sense of the words." This is a rather tragic little statement of yours, and it leads me to ask you a question, whether or not the demands of the Presidency are almost too much to place upon any one man today.

A: No, I don't think so, because I don't think any man, comes to the Presidency who doesn't really enjoy it. My husband enjoyed every minute of being President. And I have a feeling that Jack Kennedy, if he comes in, will enjoy it. And I think, what the people around the president have to do, as far as his family goes, is to become interested in the kind of work that is being accomplished. If you don't have that interest, then life is very lonely, and life ceases to have much relationship. But if you can, then you can have mutual interests, and it can be a very rewarding relationship.

Q: Can one man be expected to know enough to make all the decisions that are placed before him?

A: Oh, the President of the United States has more information to call upon than any other head of state, probably, in the world. He can have information on

any subject in a very short time. True, at the end he has to sift all that information through his own intelligence, through his own experience, and make the final decision. Therefore, it is a very fortunate thing, if you have had experience in many fields, if you have had a variety of experience, it will help you enormously. And if you have the kind of mind that is a retentive mind, and that can somehow be called upon to give you the information that perhaps you didn't even know you had, but you had hidden away, long ago, in the back of your mind, then you're doubly fortunate.

Q: Are there any changes at all you would make, or recommend be made, in the executive branch of the government, so that the President might be able to think more, or sift more?

A: Oh, I think there are probably a good many of the mechanical things which, in the early days, were done by the President, and which have remained just part of the President's job, because nobody thought about how to pass them along to somebody else. For instance, my husband used to spend hours signing

different documents, or commissions, or whatnot. I don't really think that's necessary. And much of the mail, I think, should be signed in some other way. But much of it you can't pass to anyone else, because if you don't have the interest to really know about every single branch of your government, then it's very easy to put things over on you.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, a University of Chicago professor has suggested there might be some better methods of selecting the best man for the Presidency. Have you thought about this?

A: Oh yes. I think our Conventions are becoming a little amusing. And also, I used to think Presidential primaries were a good thing; I don't think so any more. Because I think we exhaust our candidates before they really begin the campaign. And we give their future opposition all kinds of ammunition. So that I don't believe in Presidential primaries, and I think that there are things that could be done which would give the people more of a say as to the nominations. Now the nominations are very often largely achieved through the decision of party

leaders. And I think that that, perhaps, is not entirely a thing to be desired, because people feel they didn't have any say in the choice.

Q: How would you do it?

A: Well, it's rather a difficult thing, and I'm sure there are better ways than I can think of. I think it's something that could be discussed. One way, I should think, might be to have, in the primary, all the presidential candidates listed, and when you elect your delegates to a Convention, at the same time mark your preferences for—your choice. And the delegate would be bound for the first ballot to vote for the majority choice of his district. And on the second ballot, he would of course have to use his own judgment. But I think within each delegation, there ought to be a secret caucus, so that no delegate can be penalized for the way he votes.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, do you think the campaigns are too long, too?

A: Well, that I don't know. It will depend very greatly on what the future shows us. You see, even with

television--and I think this year, it way a mile-stone in television usefulness.to have the four debates. I think millions of people who would never otherwise have seen their candidates, and heard their views, were able to do so. And this is an advance in the democratic process. But people also like to actually see their candidate in the flesh. And I don't believe you will ever be able, entirely, to cut out the personal appearance of people, throughout the country. And, whether this should be done over a long period, or over a short period, is hard to say. It might be done for a shorter period, and a general pattern for both parties might be observed.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, may we pause a moment. 50-second commercial Mrs. Roosevelt, what kinds of sacrifices do you think that our country, perhaps, and other countries will have to make in order for the United Nations better to fulfill its purposes?

A: Well, you have running for Congress, I believe, here-- perhaps not in this district, I don't know just what district--Mr. Cobb, who worked on the United Nations when I served on the United

Nations. I feel that we have come away a little from our original idea, and that possibly we ought to come back to thinking of helping people to help themselves. And I imagine that your candidate could tell you more than I can about what the original thinking was that lay back of the Point Four program, for instance. But, nowadays, we seem to have given a great deal of military aid. And I'm quite convinced that military aid is a waste of time, and money. It's a good way to get rid of the kind of military material that we can't use. But actually, we get Congress to vote for it, because we say that it's to help whoever receives it to stand up against a possible attack by the Soviet Union. And most of the people it goes to couldn't stand up two minutes against an attack by the Soviet Union. So, it seems to me that that is a waste, that we really ought to be putting a great deal more into actually working with countries to help them to help themselves. And much of our aid, I think, should go through the United Nations, because I think we now always run the risk of having them afraid--they've just gained political liberty, and

they're very much afraid that someone will come and dominate them in some other way, economic or otherwise. And yet, if we give it through the United Nations, that fear is removed, and, I think much more gratitude will come to us.

Q: Thank you very much, Mrs. Roosevelt. /60-second commercial//next week; late show comments//music/
/Closing credits/

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: JFK CAMPAIGN 1960

E. R. TAPED INTERVIEW, KMOX RADIO, NOVEMBER 1, 1960 (PART I)

St. Louis, Mo.

Q: "The Sounding Board" continues now, on KMOX Radio, and it is indeed a very high privilege for us to be able to present our second guest for this afternoon. And we would like to welcome Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to our microphone. And we are so very happy that you could find time to visit with us, Mrs. Roosevelt.

A: Thank you.

Q: Where do you get all the energy?

A: Oh, I don't have so much energy, but I manage to do what people want me to do.

Q: Well, I had a press conference, I went to lunch, I have just spoken to a group gathered after lunch, and that's all.

A: That's the energy I was referring to, Mrs. Roosevelt.
W We had a gentleman here yesterday who got in a few plugs for his side of the Presidential picture.

A: Oh, really?

Q: And I think now would be a good opportunity for you to explain that button that you're wearing.

A: Oh well, well, I'm wearing a Kennedy-Johnson button, because I am a Democrat, and because I believe that Senator Kennedy would make the best President we could elect on November 8th. I think that he's shown, in the campaign, and in the debates, maturity and sincerity, and a desire to tell the people the truth. And I think that this is bringing to the people of the country a kind of identification already with their future leader. Because I'm told that wherever he goes now, there are big crowds, and they want to look at him, and they want to touch him, they want to hear him talk. Which is, of course, important, because no man can accomplish what has to be done alone. You have to call on the greatness of the American people.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, how do you feel when the reporters say that he carries the same aura about him as your late husband, Franklin Roosevelt?

A: Well, I don't think any two people are ever exactly alike, but I think there are certain similarities. And probably both of them are meeting periods of crisis, but different kinds of crisis, in a different

period.

Q: How does the national picture look to you, as of today?

A: Well, last week, I was in the middle West, in four states. And of course, I've been about in New York. And I don't think that one can tell when one is travelling, oneself. But all the leaders seem to feel that things are going extremely well for the Democrats, and that the tide is going in that direction. I have always been a pessimist, and never think you should be sure of anything until all the votes are counted.

A: How about Missouri in particular? What do you hear from the Democratic leaders in this state?

A: Well, what they've told me—I've only been here a very little while—but they tell me they're very hopeful.

Q: Can we examine the entire situation as we approach election day? How about the North Atlantic states? I imagine you spent most of your time in that area.

A: Well, I do of course, in New York State. I'm interested that in my very Republican county of Dutchess, we have for the first time a very young

and vigorous candidate for Congress. And he has five very Republican counties. Ends made a tremendous campaign, and I'm sure he will cut the vote very much, if he doesn't win! And this, I think, is the pattern in the Republican areas of the state. Now, if this is so upstate, then there's no question but we will carry New York State.

Q: I imagine there is some concern in the Democratic Party about the South, and Southeastern states.

A: Yes, but I saw today, for instance, a governor who, while he disliked the fact that Senator Kennedy had telephoned to Mrs. Martin Luther King, said that he would still be for the Democratic ticket. You see, the South has vested interests in the Democratic party. If they were to come in on a third ticket, they would lose their seniority, and that's quite important to the South.

Q: What would happen if they did not vote at all? I read a report where, They will not vote for Nixon, but they don't care for Mr. Kennedy, and they won't vote at all. How would this affect the picture?

A: Well, then, nothing would happen. Simply what

happened in the other states would count; what happened there would not count.

Q: And along that line, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, would you care to venture a guess, at this date, how many electoral votes the winning candidate will receive?

A: No, I've never been good at this sort of thing. I'm not a good prognosticator. My husband could judge very closely; I never can. So I'm not going to venture any guesses.

Q: Do you feel that it will be a close election?

A: I shouldn't be surprised if it was a rather large vote for the Democrats.

Q: Well, we realize that Dutchess County in which you live is Republican, but how about the state itself, New York itself?

A: Oh, I think it's going Democratic, by a big vote.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, do you have any suggestions with regard to what can be done to get more people to vote on Tuesday, and on subsequent elections here, on the local level, state level, and national level?

Q: Well, I don't know whether you carried on the same registration campaign we did in New York City. But

we took our areas in which people do not register as a rule, and are very lax, which are chiefly our Negro and our Puerto Rican areas. And we made it possible for Puerto Ricans to get a chance to see what a literacy test was like, because that was one of the things that frightened them. They were afraid to try and take a literacy test. And we told them what I think is absolutely true, and should be said to every citizen. Nearly everybody is interested in better schools for their children, better housing, and better recreation for their children. And you cannot go to your representatives and ask for these things with any hope of attention if you haven't even taken the trouble to cast your vote. And that they have a perfect right then to look at you and say, "Why should we bother about you? You didn't bother to vote on election day," which is the very first thing in a democracy which is the duty of every citizen. And it had quite an effect. I spent an evening in one area off my city, and the next morning I heard that--from one of the churches where I had been--that he had run out of registration

blanks altogether, and that he had never had such a demand for registration. And we have a tremendously high registration this year.

Q: Do you feel there should be some monetary incentive to make people vote, such as a reduction of income tax?

A: I don't think so. There are, of course, many areas where there is a fine if you don't vote, not in our country, but in other countries. But I have always felt that our people ought to be able to understand that this is the most important thing for their citizenship. Your secret ballot is what keeps you free. And it's a matter of education more than it is monetary incentive.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, are you in complete accord with our system of electing a President of the United States, with regard to the Electoral College?

A: Well, I think it could be changed, and it would be quite easy, now, because of course it was started in the days when travel was very difficult. But we're so accustomed to it that perhaps it doesn't really matter much. I'm much more concerned about

Presidential primaries, because I think they are a waste of energy. They tire our candidates out before they actually enter a campaign, and they give to the opposition a great deal of ammunition which I don't think the opposition should have.

Q: How do you feel about a direct primary for President, rather than having the party select the candidate?

A: I think that would be difficult. I find direct primaries difficult things to manage.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, before we open up the telephone lines and allow our listeners to call in, may I ask you a very simple yet complex question, and that is, what has it been like to have been the First Lady of the land, and the wife of the President of the United States?

A: Would you have rathered some other life?

A: Oh, I've written about it a good deal. I've written three books of autobiography, so that I think people must know pretty well. I think that, of course, it's a tremendously interesting life, if you can take sufficient part with your husband, to really know ~~what~~ is going on, then it's very interesting, and you are not really cut off. But it certainly is

difficult, because a man has to work most of the time, and a woman has to work most of the time. So it's not a very easy life.

Q: It's not quite suburbia?

A: No.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt, I know that you have an active interest in the U.N. Do you feel it has justified its existence?

A: Oh, yes! Goodness me, just this last Congo episode has justified its existence. It's stronger than it ever was, in spite of Mr. Khrushchev's desire to destroy it, and I think that we'd better be very grateful that it's in existence. We could have had war most easily without it.

Q: Don't you think we're in trouble, though, if the African nations go Communist? They will be outvoting us!

A: No, and I don't see any reason why they should. They've shown great maturity; they haven't voted with Khrushchev. And I think that depends on our leadership. And I think our leadership is most important. I think if we show--this is the overall struggle in the world--if we show that we care about people, that we really

have an understanding of their problems, and want to help, I'm not in the least afraid of their out-voting us, or of their joining with the communists. But we've got to prove, both at home, that we mean what we say, and that Democracy means what we say it means, and by word of mouth. We can't just say it, and then not live it.

Q: As we continue to visit with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, why don't you folks start calling in now, on Mission 7, 5-5-0-4. And I believe we have a caller standing by.

Q: Yes, we have, Jack. May I know your name, please?

Q: Hello, right, it's Bill again.

Q: Yes, your question?

Q: I have a question for the Honorable former First Lady. Prior to the Democratic Convention, and during the Convention, I recall she was very strong against Senator Kennedy, and I recall one of the reasons she used then was, she didn't think that he would be able to carry the Negro vote. I'd like to ask, why, if she's so strongly for him now, why does she think that he has a better chance now of carrying

the Negro vote than he had then.

Q: Well, we'll certainly ask her, and thank you for calling KMOX.

Q: Thank you.

A: I heard that, and I'd be very glad to answer. At the time that I said that, Senator Kennedy had been to have a meal with a Southern governor, and I felt he had offended the leaders of the Negro community. I felt that it had been a matter of his ignorance, not of his intentions but of his ignorance. And now, I think, he has much more knowledge; he's had the courage to call a conference on which he will base his ~~recommendations~~ their recommendations. And I think that he will be a very good leader in Civil Rights.

Q: Hello, would you care to give your name?
would

A: Yes, I'm Mary Willard, and I'd like to ask Mrs. Roosevelt if she thinks any President will carry as many electoral votes, or as many states as her husband did in '32.

Q: Well, let's find out, and thank you for calling KMOX.
Did you hear that, Mrs. Roosevelt?

A: Yes, would Senator Kennedy carry as many electoral votes . . .

Q: Do you think any President will ever carry that many votes . . .

Q: As your husband.

A: Well, I haven't the remotest idea. I just haven't the faintest notion, in fact at the moment I've forgotten how many electoral votes my husband carried at that time!

Q: Hello, your name please?

Q: This is Mrs. John.

Q: And your question?

Q: I'd like to ask Mrs. Roosevelt how she feels about, should the U.N. admit Red China to the United Nations, and that if we keep on protesting against her admission, that if in the short future, say in the next five years, she should attain A-bombs, A-ammunition, and she will not accept our invitation into the U.N., then what?

Q: Well, let's find out from Mrs. Roosevelt, and thank you for calling KMOX.

Q: You're welcome.

Q: The lady asked if you felt that Red China should be admitted to the U.N., or not, and if we did not admit her, in five years say that she had A-bombs and so forth and didn't want to join, what would we do then?

A: Well, of course, at the present time you can't admit her, because she had to qualify for membership. And you have to show that you are striving to be a peace-loving nation. I think, however, we have to rethink our position if at any time Communist China really decided to withdraw its troops from places where they should not be, and shows a desire to qualify. I feel very strongly that the day they will come, when she will have the information which she does not have at the present time, and that it would be much better to have her bound by the ~~same~~ promises that the rest of us have made. But, even if she were not in at that moment, the fact that they had discovered the A-bomb would not in any way, I think, be really effective. It might complicate matters a little, but

1 it would not mean any very great menace, because at present she doesn't know how much destruction the bombs will do. And once she had them, she will have

some idea of what they can do.

Q: Hello, your name please?

Q: This is Mrs. Bowers.

Q: And your question?

Q: Yes, I don't mean this as a reflection upon Mrs.

Roosevelt, but I just read a most enlightening documented book by Geroge N. Crocker. And the name of it was Roosevelt's Road to Russia. And I was interested if Mrs. Roosevelt had read this book, and if so, if she would care to comment on it?

Q: Well, we'll find out, and thank you for calling KMOX.

Q: Thank you so much.

Q: There's a book out by Mr. Crocker called Roosevelt's Road to Russia. She wondered if you know about it, and would you care to comment about it?

A: No, I'm sorry, I haven't seen it, and I haven't any idea about it.

Q: Hello,,would you care to give your name?

Q: I'd rather not.

Q: All right.

Q: I'd like to ask Mrs. Roosevelt, if Mr. Kennedy has promised her to give Mr. Adlai Stevenson the

Secretary of State post? I've heard rumors that he wasn't very keen on Mr. Kennedy until then.

Q: Well, let's find out from Mrs. Roosevelt, and thank you for calling KMOX. She wanted to know whether Mr. Kennedy had made a promise to you to make Mr. Stevenson Secretary of State.

A: Certainly not! I wouldn't dream of asking a candidate who he was going to make Secretary of State. It's illegal to name someone to your Cabinet when you are a candidate for a consideration. And when you are a candidate, and Mr. Stevenson for instance has been campaigning all over the country for Mr. Kennedy, and he's been asked to do research for him, in certain areas of foreign affairs, as he would at once be guilty of offering a Cabinet post for a consideration. I wouldn't dream of asking such a question.

Q: Hello, your name please?

Q: Mrs. Hensley, and I'd like to ask Mrs. Roosevelt what her viewpoints are on socialized medicine, such as she saw in Russia on her tour last winter, and what she thought of their control of education, and would she think this would be a good idea for the United

States?

Q: Well, Mrs. Roosevelt will answer you in a moment, and thank you for calling KNOX.

Q: THANK you.

Q: She wanted to know your views on socialized medicine and education, such as you saw in Soviet Russia.

A: Well, socialized medicine, as you see it in Soviet Russia, and education, are both of course good. There is no question that in those countries where they had no medical care of any kind, what had been established under their present system is far better than anything they ever had before. It's not as good as ours; they do not have as good laboratories. Actually, I doubt very much whether the medical care, while I think it's quite adequate, is the king of medical care that perhaps we would expect here at home. As far as education goes, it's based on European education. It's under compulsion, and it's good. In certain ways, I think we could take certain things from them, though I doubt very much whether we would like the amount of discipline which is started with the child when it's two months old,

and which makes it possible to put through the kind of education which is put through in the Soviet Union.

Q: Mission 7, 5-5-9-4, is our number here, and our guest on "The Sounding Board" is Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Q: Hello, would you care to give your name?

Q: Yes, my name is Mrs. John Flynn, and I'm a Protestant and intend to vote for Senator Kennedy, and I've been very much disgusted by a lot of this religious literature, pro and con, and I would like to hear Mrs. Roosevelt why she has no qualms about voting for a Roman Catholic for President.

Q: It's a very good question, and thank you for calling KMOX.

Q: You're welcome.

Q: This lady said she was a Protestant voting for Kennedy, and she is appaled by the literature being put out, anti-Catholic literature, and she wanted to know how you felt about this, being a non-Catholic voting for a Catholic.

A: Well, I think this sort of literature which has been put out is perfectly outrageous. It's hate literature,

and I think it can do only great harm. I believe that under our Constitution, we have to remember that we were founded for religious freedom, and that to this country came Protestants, Roman Catholics, Quakers, Jews from countries where they had been persecuted, for religious freedom. And it was not religious freedom for one denomination, or for one religion; it was religion freedom for all. And we wrote into the Constitution that no man should be asked his race or his religion as a qualification for running for office. Now, we ask our men to go and die for their country without saying, "What race are you, and what religion?", and I think it's simply outrageous that we want to set up a religious qualification for wanting to serve in any capacity whatsoever, the public. And therefore, to me, this is an obnoxious thing that we have to face at the present time, and I think it comes from a lack of clarification of what it is we really are afraid of. We are afraid of not preserving the division between church and state. Now, this comes about when church organizations try to get special privileges through

passage of laws, local, state, or national. We can set up organizations to watch; we can be alert citizens and fight when we think any demand of effort is trying to infringe on the division between church and state. But not to allow a man to aspire for office is against our Constitution.

Q: Hello, your name please?

Q: Mrs. Martin.

Q: Your question?

Q: I would like Mrs. Roosevelt's reaction on the
of force that Mr. Khrushchev had at the U.N.
What effect did it have on the new U.N. nations?

Q: Let's find out from Mrs. Roosevelt, and thank you
for calling KMOX.

Q: Thank you.

Q: How do you feel about the effect or rebuff or so
forth of Mr. Khrushchev at the U.N., and what effect
will it have on world affairs?

A: I think it has enormously strengthened the U.N. And
he behaved badly; he was trying to woo the African
states; he did not succeed; he lost in the votes.
And the result was, that instead of destroying the

U.N. and Mr. Lag Hammaraskjold, he himself found found himself defeated. And for us, it did a great deal that was good, because I find now that everybody is knowledgeable about the U.N. They've suddenly discovered it exists in the United States, and that's a very good thing.

Q: Hello, would you care to give your name?

Q: My name is Kennedy.

Q: And your question?

Q: I would like to ask Mrs. Roosevelt, in listening to Mr. Kennedy speak, he always has a cure for everything that comes up, every issue. It's going to be done either by him or by the government. And how does he propose to pay for that? That one question I've never heard him answer.

Q: Well, let's find out from Mrs. Roosevelt, and thank you for calling KMOX. She said, listening to Mr. Kennedy speak, he has a cure for everything. And she wonders how we're going to pay for all these things.

Q: Well, I don't know quite what you mean by that, because I think, like a very good candidate, he's tried to give the trend of his thinking, and he has not been

very specific as to what his cures would be, except in the case of medical aid for the aged, through Social Security. Now, we've been paying right along for practically everything which he advocates, and the additional for that, which would be a benefit to young as well as old, would be infinitesimal. And I think that the concern that people have of how we're going to pay for things, when really we're doing the things right straight along. Perhaps we can do them better, and I hope very much that we can. And it may be that we ought to change in certain ways. But the cost, I'm afraid, will not vary greatly.

Q: Hello, your name please?

Q: This is Mrs. Hartwick.

Q: And your question?

Q: Well, I'd Mrs. Roosevelt to comment on this: a few minutes ago there was a woman on before her, and she said that who did Kennedy thing he was kidding when he said he was for the little people, and that he was a millionaire. And I always thought that Mr. Roosevelt was pretty wealthy, and I think he did wonderful for the little people.

Q: You want her to comment on that?

Q: Yes, I'd like her to comment on that.

Q: All right, thank you very much for calling KMOX.

Q: You're welcome.

Q: We had a question before saying that Mr. Kennedy was kidding when he said he was for the little people, and who did he think he was kidding, and she yet your husband was a wealthy man, and he was for the little people.

A: Well, I think that what is interesting is that Mr. Kennedy cares about people. A good many people have been into West Virginia, and come out without really trying to do anything for the people there. And this has been going on for a great many years.

^{15, Reel 2}
BEGIN TAPE 16, (KMOX RADIO, PT II)

A: And Mr. Kennedy actually would like to do something. He's got people working to try to think what could be done to the economy of West Virginia. Now, this is being not only interested, but imaginative, trying to find solutions to problems. My husband, of course, had never known poverty. I don't think that he could exactly a very wealthy man, but he had never known

poverty; he'd always had what was necessary. And also he understood very well what the troubles of little people were. And I always felt that his own struggles with polio, which had meant great suffering and great patience, had been very enlightening, because you can translate pain and suffering into many things. And perhaps that is the same thing with Senator Kennedy. Since the war, he has had any number of operations; he has had to stand a great deal of pain, and it may very well be that that makes you more sensitive to the feelings of people.

Q: Hello, would you care to give your name?

Q: Yes, this is Keith Miller.

Q: And your question?

Q: Both myself and my wife are members of the St. Louis Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. I believe that Mrs. Roosevelt spoke on their behalf in New York. I was wondering if she would compare the position of both Nixon and Kennedy on universal and complete disarmament, policed by the U.N.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt will answer you in a moment, and thank you for calling KMOX.

A: Thank you.

Q: This gentleman said he's a member of the Sane Nuclear Policy committee, and he wondered, would you care to comment on the stands of Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kennedy, in regard to nuclear testing.

A: Well, I understand that both of them are not very far apart on nuclear testing. I understand that they hope that the effort will be resumed. As Senator Kennedy has said, that he would like to make one great effort to try to prevent nuclear testing. I think that it could be successful. I think it should be successful, and I hope very much that something will be done immediately after election.

Q: Hello, would you care to give your name?

Q: Yes, Mrs. Riegle.

Q: And your question?

Q: My question is, Is it possible for those that cast the electoral votes, in certain states in the South, to cancel out the popular vote, even though it would go one way or another? It has been said by some of them, I have noticed in the newspapers, that it is possible for them to do it. Is this correct, or do

I have it incorrectly?

Q: That's fine. Well get the correct answer, and thank you for calling KMOX.

Q: All right?

Q: She wondered if it is possible, in the Electoral College, even though a man may have the popular vote, that the Electoral College would not vote he was supposed to, according to popular vote.

A: No, it's not possible.

Q: This is not possible?

A: No, it's not possible.

Q: How about when the election is thrown into the House of Representatives, as it was done at one time?

A: Oh, that's quite different. Then, of course, it is in the hands of the Congressional group.

Q: Hello, your name please?

Q: My name is Mrs. Siekelhart.

Q: And your question.

Q: I would like to know Mrs. Roosevelt's most memorable moment, and the most memorable person that she has ever met, and the most difficult person that she ever had to entertain at the White House.

Q: That's quite an order, and thank you for calling KMOX. She wants to know the most memorable moment in your life, the most memorable person, and the most difficult person you ever entertained at the White House.

A: I was asked that last question last night, on the Jack Fear show, and I think I chose, out of many, Alexander Woolcott, because he was such an unpredictable guest. He always wanted everything at strange hours. But the most memorable moment of my life, I don't really know, except possible the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was a very great moment, in 1948, in Paris, when there were no votes against it. And it was adopted with a few abstentions, but no one voting against it. That was a very great milestone in putting into written words the aspirations of people throughout the world, which had always been done on a national scale before. Now, the most memorable ^{really} person, I don't know; this is very difficult. There are so many interesting people that one has met. I think I just can't answer that question.

Q: Well, I can say this; this is one of the most memorable moments in my life, meeting you, Mrs. Roosevelt.

A: Thank you.

Q: It's been a pleasure. Mrs. Roosevelt, I'm not going to let you get away without asking you how you pronounce your last name.

A: Oh, we pronounce it Rosavlt.

Q: Rosavelt. And how long do you intend to remain active in politics?

A: Oh, I can't tell. As long as I suppose, as I feel able to.

Q: Fine. Thank you very, very much for your visit this afternoon.

A: Thank you.

Q: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the former First Lady of the land, our guest on "The Sounding Board" this afternoon. The time is now sixteen and one half minutes until five o'clock. Our special guest gave you her thoughts on the United Nations this afternoon, along with a good many other subjects, and long before the United Nations even existed, Mrs. Roosevelt's husband occupied the attention of the world. He himself was one of

unifying forces behind the Free World's ability to stay together during the horrible days of World War II. Franklin Delano Roosevelt assumed the Presidency of the United States on March 4th, 1933, KMOX Radio is at your service with the voice of that fateful day: "Well, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself-- senseless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance."

A new President, who was soon to achieve international renown, as the master of the spoken word. And you thrill to his words as he campaigned for a second term in 1936. The scene was the immense outdoor expanse of Franklin Field, Philadelphia, June 27, 1936: "To some generations, much is given. Other generations, much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny." FDR won that race for a second term against Alfred Landon. In 1939, Germany invaded Poland. The United States remained neutral, and then, Italy joined Germany. Mr. Roosevelt announced the fact in un-

unforgettable words: "On this tenth day of June, nineteen-hundred and forty, the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor." The United States was still neutral. But eighteen months later, where were you when you heard this announcement: "Yesterday, December 7th, 1941, a date which will live in infamy, the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan. The attack, yesterday, on the Hawaiian Islands, has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph, so help us, God."

The Declaration of War; the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt: The war effort began, and continued, and came almost to its conclusion. Then, April 12, 1945. If you were one of those who loved FDR, and there were many, or if you were one of those who disliked him, and there were

many, that announcement from Warm Springs, Georgia, came to you as a personal thing, as personal as a heartbeat--the announcement of his death. Two days later, April 14th, 1945, Arthur Godfrey, an old Washington hand himself, described the funeral procession: "The drums are wrapped in black crepe, and are muffled, as you can hear. And the pace of the musicians is so slow. And behind them, these are Navy boys. And now, just, just coming, past the Treasury, I can see the horses drawing the caisson. And most generally, folks having as tough a time as I am trying to see it. And behind us, behind us is the car bearing the man on whose shoulders, now, falls the terrific burdens and responsibilities that were handled so well by the man to whose body we're paying our last respects now. "God bless him, President Truman! We return you now to the studios."

A recreation by recording of twelve years of history, the years of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And once more, from KMOX Radio, your thanks and our good wishes to a very gracious lady, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who was our guest this afternoon on the Sounding Board."